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Title:

**An evaluation of the re-building of the Eaton Estate (Cheshire)
1870-1900 with particular reference to four townships forming
part of the Estate**

Name of Candidate:

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Dissertation submitted for the Post-graduate Degree of Master of Arts in the University of
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presented in November 1998

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INTRODUCTION

The Eaton Estate lies in the west of the county of Cheshire, close to the city of Chester and even today its existence dominates an area to the south east of Chester. The existence of the Estate is revealed to the general public in three major ways. The local road network forces traffic around the outer edges of the Estate, the clock tower “Little Ben” at the Hall is a major landmark due to its height, and in the impact of the appearance of the buildings in this part of Cheshire.

There is a strong impression of visual uniformity to the design of the majority of the buildings in the small villages around Eaton Hall. This is clearly identifiable in Eccleston, Pulford, and Aldford, but also in Poulton, Bruera, Dodleston, Lower Kinnerton, Saughton and Waverton, to greater and lesser degrees.

The striking similarities of the buildings strongly suggests some kind of grand design to influence the appearance of the local area. The redesign and redevelopment has a cohesion which implies a relatively tight time frame for the reconstruction. Further research revealed a period from 1875-1900 when a major transformation was wrought on the Estate.

The sheer scale and size of the redevelopment, with commentators¹ describing the Estate building some 48 farmhouses, 360 cottages, 8 schools, 7 village halls and 3 churches is remarkable. That the rebuilding took place in a rural area, in a 25 year period, with the consequent need to move people and goods would imply a major disruption to the local infrastructure.

The initial premise therefore upon which the research for this dissertation began was to explore the changes which had taken place in the fabric of this society in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There was an expectation of discovering a major upheaval in the environment in physical and social terms. The picture which emerged was rather different. That a major transformation of the physical appearance of the Estate took place is undeniable but no

¹ M. Giroaud *Victorian Country Houses* (Yale 1979) p.2

evidence was found to support the notion of major disruption. The research and analysis undertaken suggested a structured programme, organised to minimise any dislocation of the activities of the Estate and its tenantry.

THE GROSVENOR FAMILY

The Eaton Estate forms a part of the land holdings of the Dukes of Westminster, one of the wealthiest families in the UK, both at the end of the 19th century and today, with Eaton Hall as the principal seat.

In the 1870s, the Grosvenor family was one of a grouping of 88 families (each with 1000 acres or more) who strikingly controlled three-fifths of the County, with 27% belonging to only 7 families (with 6000 acres or more each).

In 1873 a Return of Owners of Land² was undertaken. Commissioned by the Government of the day the aim was to clarify and establish accurate statistical data for land ownership in England. There had been the “wildest and most reckless exaggeration and mis-statements of fact uttered as to the number of persons who were the actual owners of soil,”³ according to the Earl of Derby (addressing the Lord Privy Seal [Lord Halifax]), figures of a mere 30,000 landowners had been quoted. The returns for Chester in 1871, published 1875, revealed a much wider ownership. The return revealed 23,720 landowners in Chester with a rental value attributed of £921,316 but only 6029 persons owned more than one acre (rental value £249,649). The Duke of Westminster is listed as owner of 15,000 acres, 1 rod and 0 perches with a rental value of £29,249.15. The Eaton Estate holding represents 11.7% of the larger (more than 1 acre) landowners rental values. The Grosvenor holding was both extremely large and valuable.

The establishment of the Grosvenor family as pre-eminent in Cheshire took place over an extended period of time. The family is often thought to be of Norman descent and marriage to substantial heiresses in the medieval period laid the foundations for the family fortunes. In

² 1873 *return of Owners of Land Vol. 1* (printed London 1875) presented to both Houses of Parliament

³ Included in the opening commentary to the 1873 Return

1677 Sir Thomas Grosvenor married Mary Davies of Ebury in London and brought a dowry which established the financial pre-eminence of the Grosvenor family both then and now. The dowry included much of modern day Mayfair and Belgravia - in the majority of these areas ground rents are still owned and controlled today.

By 1819 the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Nicholas Vansittart) told the American minister at a dinner party in South Audley Street (London) that the property tax returns show Earl Grosvenor (the Dukedom was not created until 1874) as one of the four richest men in England with an annual income of "beyond one hundred thousand pounds clear of everything".⁴ 46 years later in 1865 the Grosvenors were extravagantly said to be "the wealthiest family in Europe, perhaps.....the wealthiest uncrowned house on earth".⁵ When in 1869 the 1st Duke came into his inheritance his country income was estimated at £37,000 with the London properties rendering £115,000. Over the next 30 years the London income rose to over £250,000.

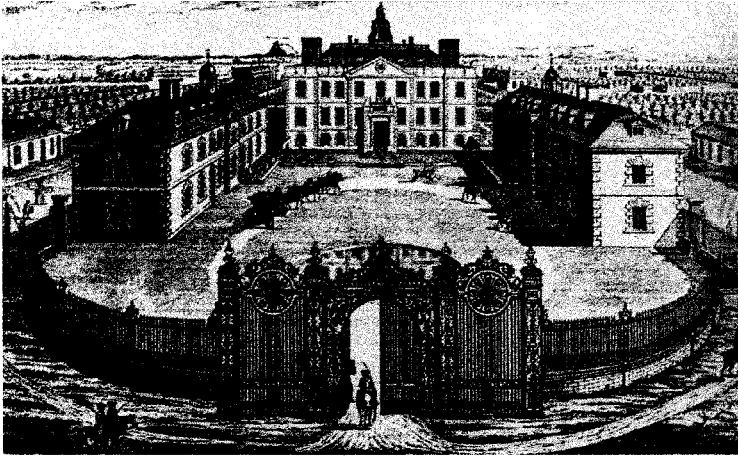
Such a vast accumulation of wealth required display and traditionally a substantial house with surrounding gardens and parkland was the appropriate and visible symbol. In the case of the Grosvenor family this symbol was the Hall at Eaton, in Cheshire.

EATON HALL

Eaton became part of the Grosvenor Estate in the 15th century and the first Eaton Hall was built for Sir Thomas Grosvenor who had married the heiress to the manor of Ebury. Designed by William Samwell and built from 1675-83 Eaton was a symmetrical block with a central pediment, there were detached wings which came forward to make a courtyard with iron railings and in the early 18th century wrought iron gates were added. The gardens were modelled on a formal French style with parterres.

⁴ quoted in F. Shepperd *Grosvenor Estate 1677-1977* Journal of History Today p.726

⁵ Shepperd *Grosvenor Estate* p.728



Eaton Hall by Samwell,
entrance front: engraving by
Thomas Badeslade c. 1740.

The Hall was demolished and rebuilt or remodelled to suit the prevailing fashion. Between 1804-12 William Porden undertook radical alterations to the house, (with John Webb as his landscape gardener) destroying the wings and remodelling completely in the Gothic fashion of the period.



Eaton Hall by Porden,
garden front: lithograph by
J.J. Buckler 1826

The financing for this major project was provided by the Halkyn (Flintshire) lead mines which produced income of £50-60,000 per annum during this period. Charles Greville described the house as “a vast pile of mongrel Gothick which cost some hundreds of thousands and is a monument of wealth, ignorance and bad taste”.⁶ In 1846 William Burn attempted to update the building internally with functioning plumbing and externally by attempting to make the frilly Gothic appear more substantial, Nesfield brought back formal gardens. The succession of the 3rd Marquess, later 1st Duke, in 1869 produced a much more extensive rebuilding, when between 1870-82 the rather fanciful Gothick of Porden was completely

expunged by Alfred Waterhouse, architect of Manchester Town Hall, in serious “Gothic revival” producing what has been described as the most expensive and lavish of all Gothic revival country houses, at a cost of £600,000.



Eaton Hall by Waterhouse,
entrance front c. 1900;
destroyed in 1970s.

The Duke chose to live in a separate wing when not entertaining. His personal tastes appear to have been much simpler than his house would suggest. In 1881 he wrote, quoted by Huxley, “now I have built a palace, I wish I lived in a cottage”.⁷

The process of continually renewing Eaton Hall was a reflection of the pattern established historically by the land owning interests, displaying social position through the medium of country house and estate. It was essential that a family as wealthy as the Grosvenors should offer an ostentatious house to match their wealth.

Historically political power had been linked to landed interests and the estate was therefore a power base which needed to be strong. It was logical to consolidate and improve estates to maximise economic benefit. It was perceived as patriotic to maintain estates as agriculture was the foundation of the State, so improvement of the estate, represented improvement of the State.

⁶ P. de Figueiredo *Cheshire Country Houses* (Chichester 1988) p.89

⁷ G. Huxley *The Victorian Duke* (Oxford 1967) p.92

THE TOWNSHIPS

Within the borders of the Estate, four townships were selected for evaluation and analysis purposes, when attempting to establish the impact of the re-building. The chosen townships were Eccleston, Eaton, Pulford and Poulton, all having long histories back to Domesday. Trade Directories of the period offer a useful insight into each township, describing physical characteristics and population.

The Directory of Cheshire published in 1874 by Morris and Co. described the parish of Eccleston as comprising 2402 acres in the Hundred of Broxton and containing the townships of Eccleston and Eaton. Eccleston is situated two and half miles north of Aldford and 3 miles south of Chester, with Eaton one and a half miles south of Eccleston. As early as 1860 mention was made of a free school supported by the Estate and by 1874 a National School for both sexes enjoyed patronage from the 3rd Marquess of Westminster. Pevesner described Eccleston as “the most notable and the most attractive of the Eaton estate villages”.⁸ Eaton was described in 1874 as the principal entrance to Eaton Hall.

The 1860 Gazetteer and Directory of Cheshire describes Pulford as “a small pleasant yet scattered village about three quarters of a mile in length situated on the main road from Chester to Wrexham”.⁹ Located six miles north-east of Wrexham and five miles south-west of Chester this history continues to inform that in 1853 the 2nd Marquess created a “neat brick” school for boys, to accommodate 100 students, in 1860 the average attendance was 60 pupils. The school was enlarged in 1876 and attendance had risen to 80 pupils, according to Kelly’s Directory of 1892, indicating a substantial number of children of school age in the townships. By comparison the total population for the township of Pulford was 298 persons, in the Census of 1891. There was also a girls school with 50 pupils and Poulton had an infant school.

In 1878 Pulford was described as a parish of 2567 acres with 1176 acres in the township and a rateable value of £2761. Poulton formed the other part of the parish of Pulford,

⁸ N. Pevesner *Cheshire* (London 1971) p.213

⁹ *1860 Gazetteer & Directory of Cheshire* (Sheffield 1860)

lying three quarters of a mile east of Pulford, it was once a place of great note with a Cistercian Abbey founded in 1153. In the Kelly's Directory for 1896 the area of Pulford is given as 1380 acres including 25 acres of water, with a rateable value of £1940 but with a population of only 170 people.

The Directories also offer a perspective on the society and its social divisions. The persons of substance were listed first, such as the local clergy, gentry and private residents. The prominence of this grouping is re-enforced by a review of the Electoral Registers for the period. The same group of names appear as residing in the more valuable properties, being qualified to vote in parliamentary and county elections by dint of meeting the appropriate property qualification. The property qualification became less onerous with successive Reform Acts. The 3rd Reform Act, passed in 1884, gave male occupiers of property valued above £10 p.a. (including those in tied cottages) an entitlement to vote.

The Directories then listed the commercial parties who operated in the townships. Consideration of the trades and professions being described clearly identified the rural nature of the townships selected, with lists of farmers and supporting crafts e.g. blacksmiths and game keepers.

These four townships experienced a major transformation over the last quarter of the 19th century as the landscape was radically altered by the activities of the Estate. The structure of the townships and the physical appearance of the buildings were changed at the behest of the 1st Duke of Westminster. This dissertation sets out to try and explore Kipling's six serving men - the who, where, what, why, how and when of that transformation.

CHAPTER ONE

THE INSTIGATOR - FIRST DUKE OF WESTMINSTER

The instigator and motivating force behind the re-development of the Eaton Estate was Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, (3rd Marquess and later Duke of Westminster) born on 13th October 1825, at Eaton Hall.

The biographical detail of his life reveals a traditional upbringing for a member of the higher echelons of the British aristocracy (he was page to his grandfather at Queen Victoria's Coronation). He attended public school - Eton and then Balliol College, Oxford followed by the "Grand Tour" to complete his education.

From 1847-69 he served as Member of Parliament for the constituency of Chester, unusually for a member of his social grouping as a Liberal. In 1869 he succeeded his father as Marquess of Westminster and entered the House of Lords. In 1874 he became 1st Duke of Westminster at the behest of W.E.Gladstone (Prime Minister). This was the last non Royal dukedom to be created. He married twice and had 15 children. He died of bronchitis on 22nd December 1899.

The questions to be considered are why did the Duke undertake the rebuilding? What were the aims of the rebuilding and were those aims achieved? The motives behind the rebuilding are open to supposition as research failed to establish any specific document identifying motives but the possibilities which have been considered are wide ranging from the economic to the aesthetic.

The picture which emerges from the sources is of a "Victorian gentleman" endowed with wealth, rank and status who was acutely aware of his social position and its responsibilities. As a major landowner he would have been sensible of a need to care for his tenants based upon a number of factors. As an upright Christian gentleman who was committed to local affairs (he served as Lord Lieutenant of the County) and solicitous of the welfare of his tenants (he was President of the Chester Cottage Improvement Society), he

accepted the responsibilities of social position and sought to preserve and enhance any inheritance for his generation and for the future. The Chester Chronicle offers “All his estates were managed on thoroughly sound business principles and very largely for the good of all who were on them”.¹

In his role as benefactor he perceived the need to upgrade his property for the benefit of both landlord and tenant. Consequently he removed the slums and “rookeries” he inherited (e.g. in the Chester suburb of Handbridge) and replaced them with modern and convenient flats or houses. He spent the money in such a way as to preserve the townscape by utilising similar architectural features to those existing in Chester e.g. “black and white revival”.

The Times in its obituary said of the Duke “a fine example of the great noble who while following the same pursuits and amusements of other English men of wealth and leisure, devotes a great part of his time to the service of those less fortunate than himself and to fulfilling with a strong sense of duty the obligations of his high rank”.² An excellent illustration of this concern for others was in his patronage of the Early Closing Association Bill in July 1899, a few months before his death. One clause of the Bill related to the provision of seating for shop assistants. He felt it iniquitous that the assistant was forced to stand all day, (this could be for more than 12 hours) his eloquence carried the day and it became a requirement for the retailers to provide seating for staff.³

Whilst the Chester Chronicle stated “he used his wealth and he administered his estates as one deeply sensible of his moral responsibility, devoting personal time and attention and bringing his own great business ability to bear on innumerable matters that wealthy men usually entrust to agents”.

It could be argued then that the aim of the rebuilding fits the notion of a duty of care, to create an environment offering a higher quality of life to those for whom the Duke had

¹ *Chester Chronicle* obituary of Duke of Westminster 30/12/1899

² *The Times* obituary 27/12/1889

³ *Chester Chronicle* obituary 30/12/1899

responsibilities. The Duke took a close interest in the rebuilding and showed a close attention to detail such that he frequently made hand written comments upon plans submitted for new buildings.

To meet the criteria of the paternalistic landowner the Estate needed to create better housing for its tenantry and to couple this with an improved infrastructure to enhance the quality of life of the tenants e.g. better schools and public buildings. That the Duke was extremely interested in education is clearly shown by the number and quality of schools on the Estate which were provided by the Duke. Politically he supported Education Acts which extended the availability of schooling and he encouraged self help as in W.E. Forster's Education Act which aimed to establish elective school boards to raise funds to build schools and provide teachers.

The Duke was also keen to provide his tenants and the general populace with places of worship. He offered strong financial support to the Church and the scale of his re-building of churches is considered in some detail in Chapter 2 .

G. L. Fenwick in comment in the Chester Chronicle spoke of the tangible evidence of the Duke's contribution to local life in the Chester area describing "the parks, museum, schools, cocoa houses (to encourage temperance) and last but by no means least the General Infirmary".⁴

The Duke thought it necessary to lead a exemplary life and to protect others against temptation. He felt strongly about the need for temperance. He served on the United Committee for the Preventing of Demoralizing of Native Races by the Liquor Traffic. In a letter to the editor of the Chester Chronicle in dated November 16th 1883 he offered no apology or explanation for the closure of public houses on the Eaton Estate describing them as an *excess of requirement*.

⁴ *Chester Chronicle* obituary 30/12/1899

The grounds at Eaton were opened to the public and the Duke positively encouraged visitors. In 1883 in the three summer months there were 12,000 visitors. By 1891, this had risen to 17,000 as the cheap excursionists from the cities used the expanded rail network to reach the Estate. Making available access to the Estate for a small fee, with reductions for visitors who pleaded poverty. The entrance fee was to cover the staffing cost of four men who showed the house and garden to the public, with any surplus monies donated to local charities. This fits with *The Spectator*'s view quoted by Huxley that the Duke regarded himself as "not so much a private millionaire as the head of a public trust or institution".⁵

The benefit of the rebuilding would be the creation of a stable workforce. There would be a strong incentive to remain an Estate tenant. The urbanisation movement and the higher level of wages available in the towns required some counter action, given the continuing demand for agricultural labour in dairying areas such as Cheshire at this period.

Thus the cottage accommodation constructed was accompanied with a piece of land, of a third or quarter of an acre, which would allow the tenant to grow some crops for own use. Outbuildings were provided (e.g. piggeries) to a particularly high standard. The tenant could be compelled to remain on the Estate as they were dependent on the landowner for both employment and accommodation.

The Estate could derive some economic advantage from offering this quality of accommodation if the capital costs of the re-building could be offset by lower turnover of tenants (reducing the likelihood of lost rents and re-letting costs) and by holding down wage levels.

There is some evidence for the depression of wage levels in a memo from D. Scotland to Cecil Parker (land agent to the Duke) relating to the hours of work and wages of the men employed in the yard at the Estate's own brickworks sited at Cuckoo's Nest, Pulford. In the memo dated 19 th January 1883 Scotland argued that any attempt at amendment either to reduce wages or increase hours would not be practical. After noting that "wages in the North

⁵ Gervais Huxley *The Victorian Duke* Oxford University Press 1967 p.141

are as a rule higher than those in the South” he continues “the wages of our artisans are much lower than those given in Chester, but the deficiency is made up to them by cheap and comfortable houses and gardens”.⁶ At this time 40 men were employed in the brickyard at 22 shillings a week on average (paid weekly not hourly), whilst the memo states bricklayers, masons and glaziers were getting 30 to 36 shillings a week in Chester and elsewhere.

Although the rentals from the rural areas of the Westminster land holdings were not as valuable as the London rents they did provide a substantial part of the Duke’s overall income, [rental income in 1869 £37,000 from country and £110,000 from town]. It would be logical to maintain the land in good condition to maximise returns .

The Duke enjoyed a sufficient level of affluence to allow the adoption of longer term strategy in the development of the Estate. He was in a position to combine his own self interest with the interests of the tenants and the community at large without necessarily being forced to adopt short term profit objectives. Therefore the Estate would invest in new buildings such as the farmsteads despite an inability to achieve increases in rentals. Rental levels fell between 1875-1889.(see table XVIII) as the Estate felt the effects of the agricultural depression. With no potential increase in rentals there was a need to keep operating and capital costs under close scrutiny. The task was undertaken with some diligence by Cecil Parker, for example in the memo on wages mentioned previously and later when declining to pay architects commissions to John Douglas [despite previous agreements].

The Estate did try to reassure its tenants of concern for their financial difficulties. In 1875 in Kinnerton a widow was excused her rent on the Duke’s instruction because of her financial problems (noted on the rental roll) and in a letter from Samuel Beckett (agent to the Duke) to a tenant James Roberts (in 1880) comfort is offered for financial difficulties “I am sorry to hear you are so soon tired of farming but I think you take too gloomy a view of

⁶ Eaton Estate Office papers held at Eaton Hall available via Chester County Record Office ref. EEO 40/27

matters. You had better call here some morning when we can talk matters over and see what can be done".⁷

The Duke displayed a strong interest in agriculture and wanted to develop his farms and those of his tenants. He was a patron of the Cheshire Dairy Farmers Association and President of the Royal Agricultural Society 1892-3. As a land lord he saw his role as a facilitator of improvements and used the Home Farm (Woodhouse Farm, Aldford) on the Estate to assess and evaluate the latest farming methods. He saw the need for efficient estate management and that this could be accomplished by the implementation of progressive agricultural methods .

At Aldford and Balderton(1974-5) he built cheese factories, an idea imported from America around 1870, to create an environment specialising in cheese production these were among the first in the United Kingdom. He was an advocate of a new system for silage which produced a better keeping quality, this system was introduced on tenant farms. He arranged for the Estate to supply fertiliser to tenants, which the Estate had bought in bulk and was therefore available at a discounted price to the farmer.

The Duke described himself in Dods Parliamentary Register as "a Whig, in favour of free trade, will support principles of rational progress with a spirit of moderation".⁸ This description fits the profile of a man willing to make changes but a gradual rather than a radical approach would be adopted. The rebuilding was over an extended period of 30 years which minimised disruption - a moderate approach. The Duke had a strong conviction that strong government firmly based on law and order was the essential factor in promoting the prosperity of any country and improving the lot of its people. He expressed this view in his diary based on his travels to India.⁹

⁷ Eaton Estate Office letter book ref. EEO 689/700

⁸ Huxley *The Victorian Duke* p.69

⁹ Eaton Estate Office ref. 13/225

This moderate attitude extended to his political philosophy - he opposed the 1866 Reform Bill on the basis not that it would extend the franchise but that it would extend the enfranchisement to too broad a grouping if passed [i.e. £7 householders]. He was willing to extend greater voting rights to the populace but only to a limited extent.

The Chester Chronicle obituary of 30th December 1899 commented "It could not be justly said that the deceased Duke had no trust in the people; but his "prudence" was in excess, and large hearted though he was he could not get rid of the prejudices of his class and surroundings". There was clearly a strong paternalistic streak in the Duke's character.

One of the strongest influences on the Duke's life came through his political connections. As a liberal he supported the Premiership of Gladstone and his policies, with two notable exceptions, during his political life. The two men were not only political allies but friends and neighbours. Huxley perceived the two men as sharing a common devotion to broad liberal principles, hatred of injustice and deeply held religious beliefs".¹⁰

It was Gladstone who arranged the dukedom in 1874, a considerable honour particularly as Westminster had held no major political office. A letter in Gladstone's own hand to Westminster (original in the Eaton papers dated 17th Feb 1874.) shows affection.¹¹

My Dear Westminster

I have received authority from the Queen to place a Dukedom at your disposal. and I hope you may accept it for both you and Lady W will wear it right nobly.

With my dying breath

Yours sincerely

The friendship revealed itself in other ways and a study of the Gladstone Diaries offers an insight. References began in 1857. In 1867 Gladstone describes that he "went to Chester opening of Ld. West. Grovesnors new park walked in procession. It is a noble gift."¹² There

¹⁰ Huxley *The Victorian Duke* p 69

¹¹ quoted by H.C.G. Matthews *The Gladstone Diaries Volume 14* (Oxford 1994) EEO original letter ref. 13/94

¹² Matthews *Gladstone Diaries* entry 5/11/1867

were social visits for lunch and dinner, family weddings and to visit church. "Went to Eaton. It has certainly much of grandeur, and of beauty"¹³, besides political matters to be discussed.

It would seem natural then that such a close political ally and friend could influence the decision to rebuild and the manner of that rebuilding. Gladstone lived in Hawarden (Flintshire) just over the Welsh border, a very close neighbour of the Eaton Estate. The Hawarden estate had been in financial difficulties which Gladstone had resolved by the contribution of £267,000 to reorganise finances and care for the estate. Gladstone saw wealth from the same viewpoint as the Duke to be used for God's purposes - and therefore it was necessary to be generous and charitable. The Duke was a great benefactor contributing to many charities. Gladstone also saw the role of hereditary wealth combined with a sense of duty and *noblesse oblige* as a valuable and indispensable function in society. The castle and village of Hawarden present a unified picture of estate of uniform pattern and design, similar to the Duke's constructions at Eaton. Both men left lasting memorial in the landscape - Gladstone's St. Deniols Library at Hawarden and Westminster's rebuilding of Eaton and its environs.

Another contemporary and close neighbour in Cheshire who may have been influential and acted as mentor to the Duke was Lord Tollemache. In 1844-50 he built a medieval castle (designed by Salvin) at Peckforton in Cheshire. Gladstone had described Tollemache, an M.P. for 30 years, as a man of practical ability and had according to Pevsner¹⁴ praised him as a model landlord. Tollemache wrote "the only real and lasting pleasure to be derived from the landed estate is to witness the improvement of the social condition of those residing in it"¹⁵.

The practical manifestation of the model landlord was when Tollemache decided to divide up his Cheshire Estate of some 26,000 acres. He created 200 acre units and built over 50 farmsteads. Having spent £60,000 on his castle he proceeded to spend £148,000 on the

¹³ Matthews *Gladstone Diaries* entry 20/12/83

¹⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard *The Buildings of England series Cheshire* (London 1971) p301

farmsteads. Tollemache continued his rebuild by providing each labourer on the estate with a cottage and 3 acres to be farmed, to supplement wages. The costs of the cottages was around another £150,000. What is striking is that houses and farms were constructed to a uniform design and appearance still clearly visible in the landscape today.

Another estate which could have served as a model of the need to build quality accommodation for tenantry was at Crewe Hall in Cheshire. Earlier in the century the Crewe family had created a coherent pattern in the presentation and structure of estate cottages. The estate housing was designed by Eden Nesfield from 1860-6 built of brick with half-hipped gables, high chimneys and some half timbering, (Some elements are reflected at Eaton)

When undertaking this restructure of the Estate aesthetic values were not neglected. As a serious patron of architecture the choice of an architect to fulfil his grand design required someone who reflected ducal tastes. The choice for the main design of Estate buildings was John Douglas, a local architect from Sandiway, Cheshire. The desire of the Duke seems to have been to offer employment in the local area whenever possible.(considered in greater detail in Chapter 3) This would be logical on grounds of cost alone and would avoid the disruption of the local community if for example external labour had been drafted into the area. Also the Duke used local materials and architectural styles reflected in rural Cheshire; the “black and white revival” of Elizabethan style was frequently employed.

The question of how the ducal taste for the romantic fantastical elements of the buildings developed could be related to the Duke’s activities in earlier life.

The Duke undertook foreign travel from an early age. In 1835 (aged 9) he visited Stuttgart and the Court of Wurttemberg. In 1847-8 he visited Germany and Italy and maintained a diary. The diary showed an enjoyment of drawing, art, literature and architecture on his travels. The early part of the diary in Germany presents descriptions of the places seen accompanied with pen and ink drawings. Pictures of notable places visited have also been

¹⁵ Peter de Figueiredo and Julian Treuherz *Cheshire Country Houses*(Sussex 1988) p 132

glued in alongside the text. the detail and use of illustration suggest an enthusiasm for Germany and its architecture.

The pictures and drawings undertaken in Germany emphasise the architecture. For example he described the appearance of a church in Nuremberg in detail but makes little mention of any paintings or sculpture. The descriptions indicated pleasure in the highly decorated and detailed style of German architecture, he expressed an appreciation of historical references and was conscious of the materials used whilst the later entries for Italy offer more information on the art and sculpture encountered with less detail on the architecture.

Given the obvious pleasure derived from the German architecture forms it would seem reasonable to draw the conclusion that the design and style of architecture used and the choice of architect were influenced and informed by these early travels. A selection of photographs shown below indicate the buildings which the Duke was likely to have viewed in Nuremberg. The church in the Place is recorded in his diary. The spires and elaborate forms do have a resonance when compared to some of the Eaton buildings such as the main gatehouse illustrated.



Church of Our Lady - 1st hall-church in Franconia, built between 1352-8, situated in centre of Nuremberg.



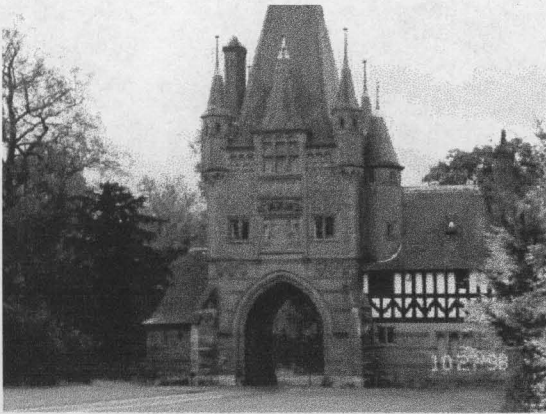
The Hospital of the Holy Ghost,
Nuremberg



Schöner Brunnen Fountain (erected during 1400s), in the
centre of Nuremberg.



Another view of the hospital of the Holy Ghost.



The main gatehouse at Eaton Hall.

The epitaph to the first Duke is best given by the Rev. H. Grantham in his sermon on the first Sunday after the death of the Duke. “He was ever thinking of providing for the wants of his tenants. Those who remember Handbridge five years ago (1884) with its wretched courts and surroundings will see what a wonderful transformation has been made. In fact I think I may say that nearly all the cottage property owned by his Grace has been re-built and comfortable and good dwellings provided for all our people. Not only in the parish but everywhere in Chester where he could improve the dwellings of the poor the changes have been made”¹⁶

The reasons behind the rebuilding were clearly complex but if the aim of the changes to the estate was to create a better environment within the geographical area under his control then that aim was achieved and a lasting memorial in the landscape created.

¹⁶ *Chester Chronicle* obituary 30/12/1899

CHAPTER TWO

THE BUILDINGS - PHYSICAL STRUCTURES IN THE LANDSCAPE

It is remarkable that despite the serious effects of the *agricultural depression* being felt across Britain from 1870-1900 the Eaton Estate should have been subjected to such a substantial rebuilding programme.

The main farming activity and dominant influence in Cheshire farming over a lengthy time period was dairy based. The warm and wet climate led to high quality grassland which sustained good quality dairy production. A willingness to exploit new technologies (such as improved drainage systems) during the 19th century had allowed the Cheshire area to maintain a premier position in dairying.

Maintaining a successful market position relied upon adaptability to changes in the dairy market. Early in the century market demand and practicalities, principally distribution, led to production of a slow ripening cheese aimed at the London market. The later part of the 19th century saw demand in the Cheshire area change to a more localised market provided by the rapid growth in urbanisation and industrialisation in the North West. Local taste was for a more rapid ripening cheese product which allowed greater throughput on the farm and was to lead to the opening on the Eaton Estate of “cheese factories” to meet the increasing demand by facilitating speedier, cheaper and more efficient production. The need to adapt to changing circumstances was reinforced by increased competition in the cheese market provided by the newly emerging producers (who employed the new refrigeration technology) from the Netherlands, New Zealand and America.

A second major change in the dairy market was the increased demand for liquid milk on an all year round basis from the rapidly expanding industrial centres. The explosion in size of the rail network in the last quarter of the century allowed the rapid distribution of the perishable milk. It was not until the 1860s and 1870s that the rail network in Cheshire was sufficiently wide spread as to meet the needs of Cheshire’s dairy farmers.

The Eaton Estate was served by the Chester to Shrewsbury line with a station at Balderton, about a mile from Pulford.¹ There had been a station at Pulford but this closed in 1855 (it remained a siding until 1959). The Duke recognised the importance of the railway to the Estate and in 1896 ordered the construction of a narrow gauge (15") railway which linked the main rail line at Balderton to Eaton Hall. There was also a three mile branch to the Estate works at Cuckoo's Nest (Pulford). The rail link allowed coal and supplies to reach the Hall and Estate and facilitated the distribution of Estate products e.g. cheese from the cheese factory which the Estate had built in Balderton.

Cheshire was therefore less exposed to the agricultural depression than other areas because of adaptation to changing market demand and a lack of dependence on arable activities.

A Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1894-5² examined the effects and causes of the agricultural depression through visits being undertaken by Commissioners to different parts of the country. Cheshire was not visited but the Garstang area (near Preston in Lancs.) and the Vale of Aylesbury (Herts.) were included and both undertook a similar type of primarily dairy based farming, as was seen on the Eaton Estate in Cheshire.

Evidence given to the Commission highlighted the reduction in value of land. A tenant farmer stated "It has come to this - you may regard the land as practically of no value and look upon the rent as merely covering the interest on the outlay on house and buildings".³ This had led to a reduction in rentals in the Garstang area. In 1851 a 420 acre farm had been let for £500 per year, but by 1894, the same 420 acres plus 80 additional acres produced a rent of only £100 per annum.

¹ details from Leslie Oppitz *Cheshire Railways Remembered* (Newbury 1977)

² British Parliamentary Papers - Royal Commission on Agriculture Report of the Assistant Commissioners on Agricultural Depression with Statistical Returns Sessions 1894 -5 (Irish University Press Shannon 1969)

³ British Parliamentary papers 1894-5 p.13

Rental levels on the Eaton Estate (taken from Eaton Estate rental rolls)⁴ experienced a similar pattern, although not so dramatic a drop in levels. In Pulford, William Moore was a tenant farmer of 181 acres, in 1875 his rent was £270 an increase to £273 had occurred by 1883-4 but fell in 1888-9 to £258 and rose only slightly in 1898-9 to £259. In Eccleston John Hartshorn rented an acreage of 188 acres in 1875 at a rental of £276 per annum, in 1883-4 the Eaton rental rolls show an increase to £279 but in 1888-9 the rent fell to £275 and remained at that level in 1898-9. It could be argued that this smaller fall in rental levels was a result of the landlord's investment in the land. A belief that improving the standard of accommodation would encourage tenants to remain with the existing landlord, the Duke of Westminster. There does appear to be some evidence that low or reduced rentals linked with investment in physical infrastructure and technological advances in farming methods led to continuity in both the farm and cottage tenants.

The above examples of William Moore and John Hartshorn are an illustration of continuous occupation by the same tenant over a 25 year period. This is particularly remarkable when consideration is given to the practice of Cheshire large landlords granting annual leases only, which was discussed in a recent Royal Commission on Historic Monuments of England publication.⁵ The benefit to the tenant was security of tenure and to the landlord, an uninterrupted income flow.

A number of different causes for the disastrous fall in the value of land were identified by the Commission and could be applied to the Eaton situation. The chief cause of the depression according to Thomas Armistead of Lancaster Auction Market was "foreign competition in all farm produce, especially cattle, which has greatly reduced the prices of all classes of stock"⁶ (a fall for a 2 year old bullock 1886-1894 from £15-£16 to £10-£11). Other causes were stated, including a rise in the rates payable and an increase in the cost of labour. Action had been taken to attempt to hold labour costs down by the conversion of arable land to

⁴ Eaton Estate Office ref. 478 and 479

⁵ Discussed by P.S. Barnwell and Colum Giles *English Farmsteads RCHME* (Swindon 1997) p. 124

grass, by firing married men who required cottage accommodation and employing own family and hired men who lived in the farmhouse and by the increased use of technology with machinery such as the self binder and potato digger. "The great drain of the agricultural population into manufacturing and mining districts"⁷ was also mentioned by the Commissioner. Eaton was close to the major manufacturing centres of the North West, e.g. Manchester, Liverpool and Macclesfield.

In the Vale of Aylesbury (Herts), again a diaring area, the evidence for the primary cause of the depression was given as "a fall in the prices of farm produce of all kinds without an equivalent fall in the cost of production".⁸ The fall in milk prices was illustrated thus - in 1884 100 lbs. of milk (a gallon of milk weighs 10 lbs) sold for £6-11-0 by 1893 the equivalent was £5-10-0. The other main cause was viewed as the poor weather, with heavy rains which had led to poor harvest. Although of greater consequence to the arable farmer, the grass farmer was also affected, "recent unfavourable seasons have brought matters to a crisis."⁹

The problems identified and the trends noted were all reflected at Eaton.

COTTAGES

A major component of the production costs was clearly labour and to control costs it was essential to retain good quality labour. The reconstruction of the cottages offered a means of tenant retention and acquisition. The Estate offered a high standard of accommodation at a realistic rent which would hopefully have led to tenants remaining on the Estate.

There are numerous examples of continuous cottage rentals [in the Estate rolls]¹⁰ of tenants who remained over the time period from 1875-1900. Stephen Benyon [in Eccleston] appeared in 1875 paying £4 and 10 shillings rent, in 1883-4 £6 and 5 shillings but by 1888-9 this rent fell substantially reflecting altered market conditions to £5 and was still at this level of

⁶ British Parliamentary Papers 1894-5 p.17

⁷ British Parliamentary Papers on Agriculture Sessions 1868-9 report by Edward Stanhope visited Chester in 1868-9 (Irish University Press Shannon 1968) p.12

⁸ British Parliamentary Papers 1894-5 p.465

⁹ British Parliamentary Papers 1894-5 p.469

¹⁰ EEO ref. 478 and 479

£5 in 1898-9. Samuel Lloyd of Pulford rented one of the standard cottages with 0.38 of an acre. His rent of £5 in 1875 was raised to £5 and 10 shillings in 1883-4 and stayed at this level in 1888-9 and 1898-9.

The type of legal agreement the Estate required its cottage tenants to sign had a number of conditions which ensured the tenant participated in maintaining the accommodation to a high standard. An example is the agreement between the Estate and John Jones of Pulford signed on the 4th December 1891 for one of the newly constructed cottages. Rent was payable quarterly with one months notice on either side, the tenancy required that the tenant worked for the Estate or one of the farm tenants.

Clause 4 required “the Garden and other Fences to be kept neat and in good order” , Clause 5 “the House and Garden clean and tidy, as the Landlord or his Agent may desire”¹¹, and in Clause 3 of the agreement the Estate is shown to be interested not only in exterior appearance but the interior of its property. The tenant was required to “keep the windows of the Cottage clean and in repair, and to Whitewash the interior of the Cottage and Privy at least once in every year”. Compensation for the tenant for what could be construed as rather onerous conditions of the tenancy was offered in the form of land. Each cottage was provided with a minimum of 0.25 of an acre [John Jones] or 0.38 of an acre [Samuel Lloyd] which allowed the tenant the opportunity to grow vegetables and fruit. Additionally it was expected that the tenant would keep a pig. In Clause 7 of the John Jones agreement the pig was to be “confined in a Pig yard” which was provided as part of the outbuildings of the cottage. A centralised provision of ley fields [available at additional rental] in Pulford also allowed John Jones the opportunity to keep cattle.

Unfortunately not all landlords took the long term view of the need to offer quality accommodation to retain quality labour. A Parliamentary Commission on Agriculture of 1868-9 offers an insight into the measures, approaches and problems found in Cheshire. In Cheshire

¹¹ Eaton Estate Office ref. 314 copy of rental agreement used by the Estate and John Jones of Pulford

the Commissioner reported that cottages were “too few in number and not well distributed”¹² and the quality of cottage accommodation was often poor. “The old black and white materials of which many are constructed present a picturesque appearance but such cottages are in indifferent repair”.¹³ In evidence T. Rigby (Secretary to Chamber of Agriculture at Crewe) wrote to the “Crewe Guardian” Feb. 1869 “our best young men are driven into towns when they marry, for want of houses in the country”.¹⁴ It was even suggested in the report that a more flexible attitude to moral values developed due to a lack of labour particularly of dairymaids who were employed in spite of *bastard* children the criteria being “can she make cheese”.¹⁵

However the Westminster Estate was seen as an exception. The Commissioner noted that on Lord Westminster land “very great progress had been made to amend these problems “ of quality accommodation. Samuel Beckett (agent to Westminster at Eaton) stated in evidence that “Lord Westminster has built a very large number of cottages and on this account is able to command a sufficient supply of labour for himself and his tenants. He charges as a rule £3-10-0 to £4-0-0 including about a 1/8 th of an acre of garden”.¹⁶

Additional evidence that the Eaton Estate understood the need to incentivise its tenants was given in this report when the Commissioner, Edward Stanhope, described some landowners as giving land to their principal labourers to enable them to keep a cow. Eaton provided “a ley field for them to pasture their cows on in summer, and another for them to cut their hay from. For these advantages they pay £5 a year which many are willing to do”.¹⁷

The Estate constructed, according to documentation [EEO 13/265]- a list of building erected on the Estate since 1869 compiled by the Estate around 1900. Nine cottages were constructed in Pulford from 1869 to the Duke’s death in 1900. Given the statistical evidence

¹² British Parliamentary Papers 1868-9 p. 12

¹³ BPP 1868-9 p.12

¹⁴ BPP 1868-9 supporting evidence 159

¹⁵ BPP 1868-9 p.12

¹⁶ BPP 1868-9 evidence 158 from Beckett to Commissioner

¹⁷ BPP 1868-9 evidence 158

taken from Census data [see Table 1 in Chapter 5] that the number of houses in the township of Pulford were:- in 1871- 50, in 1881- 48 and 1891- 52 it can be surmised that the nine newly built cottages were primarily replacements for existing property.

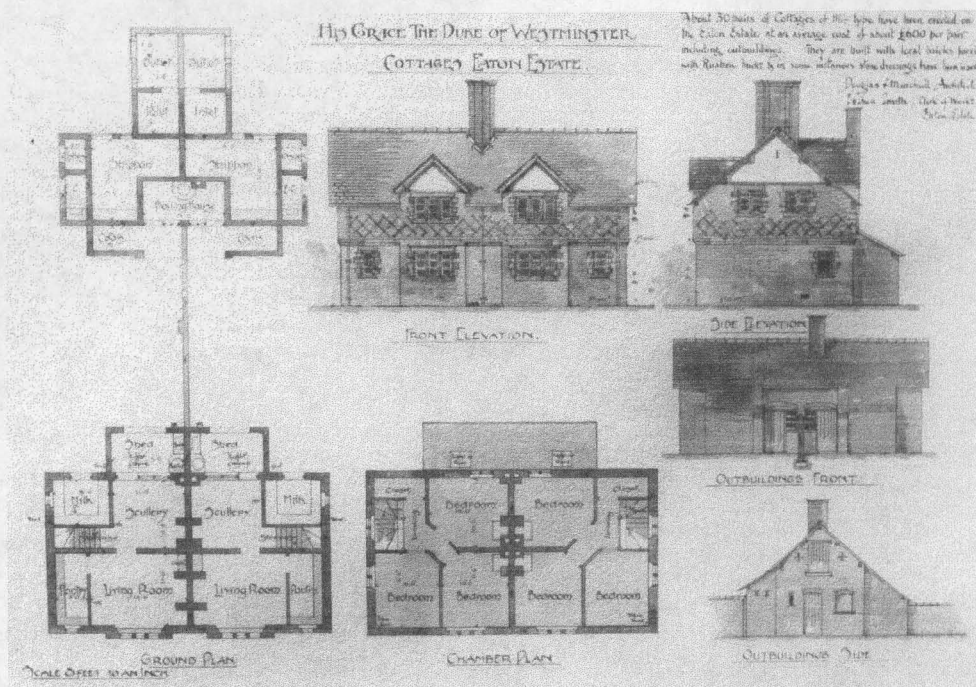
It is also clear that with approximately 20% of the low rental housing stock renewed in a standardised style the appearance of the environment was altered substantially, even without considering the impact of the new public buildings, residences, lodges and farmsteads in Pulford.

The costs of building each pair or block of 3 cottages are given in the list. A cross reference to the Estate records identified the designing architect as John Douglas. He received a design and supervision fee of 5% of the building cost or a flat rate fee if his design was used without his supervision. The building costs for a block of 2 cottages ranged from £700 to £841 on the list, [these figures were confirmed from the account books of the Estate]. The annual rental per cottage ranged from £4 to £6. Given that there would be running costs associated with the cottages on the part of the Estate, recovering the costs of the investment would appear extremely unlikely. Such a low return on investment would require a very extended time period to recover costs. It is possible therefore to surmise that although financial considerations played a part in the decision to re-build the Estate, it was other considerations which drove the decision making process. (e.g. the aesthetic)

The pattern in Eccleston reflected Pulford, but on a larger scale. Seventeen cottages were listed as constructed 1869-1900 with the Census data [see Table 111 Chapter 5] showing movement 1871 - 53 houses, 1881- 62 houses and 1891 -59 houses. The new cottages must have been primarily replacements for existing houses but seventeen cottages represented around a third of the houses and would have produced an even greater visual and physical impact than in Pulford.

The physical appearance of the cottages can be illustrated using modern photographs as the vast majority of the buildings still survive remarkably unscathed in the landscape today.

[see photos shown below] A typical floor plan for a pair of cottages is included with an original line drawing (from Estate records included on pg 163 of Hubbard's *John Douglas*).



The cottages illustrated had 3 bedrooms upstairs with a pantry, scullery, living room and a small attached privy. There was a range of outbuildings provided close to the property. The cottages shown were built of local brick, and faced with Ruabon red brick with some decorative grey patterning. A particular feature were the twisted and diapering chimneys.



Pair of cottages on Old Lane, Pulford

FARMS

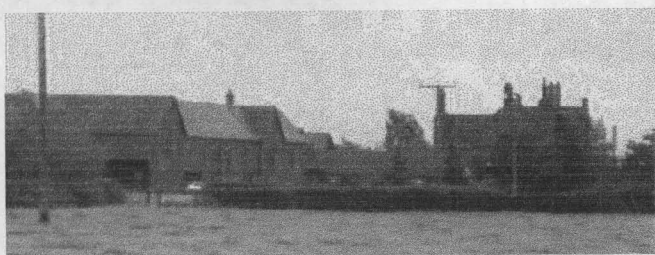
The Estate undertook major transformations of the farms on the Estate, this took various forms. In some cases a total reconstruction took place, alternatively the buildings and outbuildings were extended and upgraded or an entirely new farm at a new location was constructed. The sums expended were substantial.

In Pulford and Poulton alone the Estate listing (EEO 13/265) of buildings from 1869 - 1900 revealed new farmhouses, new outbuildings and additions to farms totalling over £22,000. Clearly the Estate believed it crucial to the maintenance of a well managed and developed Estate that significant changes be made to the tenant farms by the provision of high quality buildings which allowed a response to changing market conditions.

The model farm of Wrexham Road farm [now in the centre of Chester Business Park] was the first complete farmstead built in this period for the Estate with the house and buildings designed [by Douglas] as a whole. This farm was used as the model for further developments (e.g. Brookside farm, Pulford). A photograph of the gateway or *drift house* to the farmyard at Wrexham Road farm is shown below with a photograph of Brookside farm (unusual for its manure house). The *drift house* was a covered wagon way for loading and unloading.



Gateway at Wrexham Road Farm.



Brookside Farm, Pulford

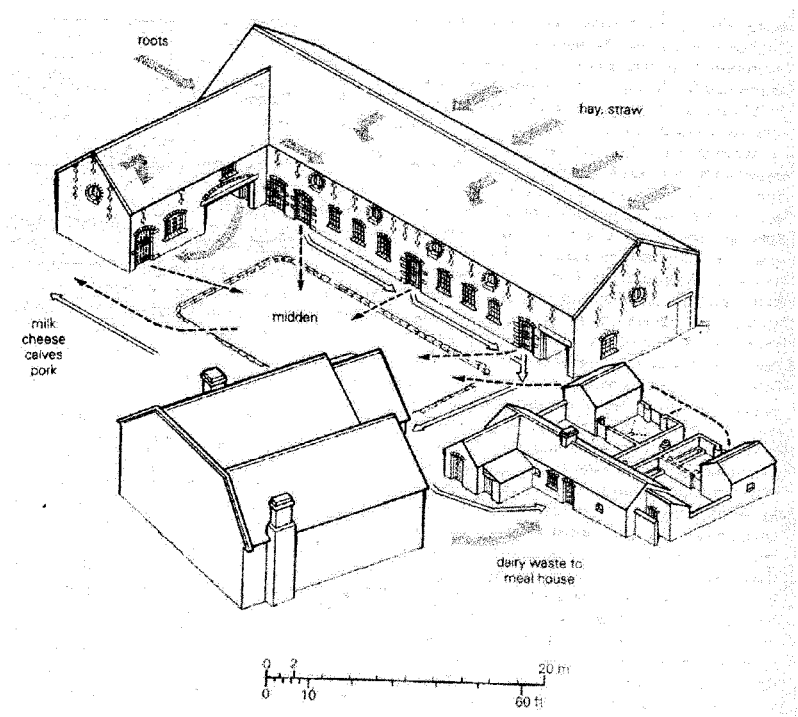
The farm buildings offered a cohesive structure for the modern farm of the late nineteenth century. The impact of the changing market for liquid milk necessitated structural and organisational changes in the farm buildings. The buildings had to house the cattle during

the winter period and there was a need to maintain the quality and quantity of feed stuffs in the winter to maintain and maximise the production of milk.

It was crucial to provide after November, as the weather became damp and cold, an arrangement which allowed the cattle to be fed, milked twice a day and mucked out in the shippon, (a local word for a cow house). Buildings were therefore arranged to facilitate the process. Inputs of hay, straw and roots for fodder and litter were stored close to or in the shippon and the midden for storage of the output of manure (later distributed on the land) was also close by. Stabling for horses and housing for the young stock and bullocks and farm carts and implements was also provided.

A constant feature of the Estate farms was the piggery. The whey and by-products from the cheese making process offered a valuable food source which was used to feed the farm pigs. The piggeries were located close to the farmhouse, which was next to the dairy, which thus allowed ease of access for feeding, by minimising the distance the feed needed to be

carried. The illustration below shows the typical organisational structure and flow of processes of a Cheshire dairy farm in the late 19th century.¹⁸ Illustration is of typical farm at Spurstow, Cheshire.



¹⁸ Barnwell *English Farmsteads 1750-1914* p.126

Despite good quality accommodation and operating in an market which had less exposure to the agricultural depression, tenant farming in the late 19th century was not an easy option and landlords could be called upon to deal with matters which required that moral support be offered.

On 30th September 1880 Samuel Beckett acting as agent for the Duke wrote to James Beckett (copy in the Eaton Estate letter books)¹⁹,

“I am sorry to hear that you are so soon tired of farming but I think you take too gloomy a view of matters. You had better call here some morning when we can talk matters over and see what can be done, of course I cannot take the place off your hands in any case before next Spring, but I will talk the whole thing over with you when I think you shall find that matters be better than you thought”.

Maintenance of a good quality labour force to support the industry was crucial. Samuel Beckett described in 1869 in evidence to the Parliamentary Commission the labour problems already facing the farmer and a possible solution. With 70 cows a farm would require 8 to 10 milkers, of whom 4 would be women (i.e. indoor servants) but “Dairymaids and indeed all sorts of in door labour are very scarce indeed. It was for this reason that “cheese factories” were suggested where farmers could send their produce to be made into cheeses, but they have not hitherto been established”.²⁰ The Estate was to establish cheese factories at Balderton and Aldford (Bruera 1874-5) The aim of the Estate policy on housing its tenantry would appear to have minimised exposure to the labour problems in dairying.

SCHOOLS

The Stanhope’s Parliamentary report of 1869 commended the “public spirit and generosity which the landowners of Cheshire showed with regard to the report of National

¹⁹ EEO ref. 689/731

²⁰ BPP 1868-9 evidence 158 Samuel Beckett agent to Marquess of Westminster

Schools” and that in Cheshire “hardly any parish was without a good school for the old children”.²¹ The Estate understood the value of providing education.

The Duke had strongly held beliefs in the need for education which he expressed in his political career and there was generous provision on the Estate, with each village provided with a school. A review of the Estate ledgers²² for 1882-87 reveal some of the commitment in financial terms to the running costs rather than capital expenditures. [In 1884 £798, 1885 £859, 1886 £813, 1887 £898.] The salaries of schoolmasters of schools on the Estate at Waverton, Dodleston, Pulford, Aldford, Poulton, Churton and Eccleston were directly paid by the Estate, on a quarterly basis. Subscriptions to local schools whose villages abutted the Estate (e.g. Christleton, Lavister, Rossett) were also made, evidence of a strong commitment to education for all.

Between 1869-1900 five new schools were built upon the Estate [Waverton, Aldford (boys), Eccleston, Dodleston and St. Johns, Chester] and significant additions made to Aldford (girls), Pulford and Handbridge. The cost of these school buildings was substantial, a total of £24,529 is recorded in Estate records.

The school in Eccleston was designed by John Douglas, cost £4200 and built by George Parker (described as a mason in the Eaton account books - invoices from 1877-81 total £3050) The building design was shown in “British Architect”, a recent photograph of the school is shown below. The school has an adjoining school house (which is partly half timbered with a jettied upper storey and has been described as toy like) whilst the school is completely of stone and can best be described as Gothic with the spire to accommodate the school bell. The building remains a school (80 pupils) and the school house now forms part of the school itself.

²¹ BPP 1868-9 quoting the Inspector of Schools 1867 in Cheshire

²² EEO ref. 417



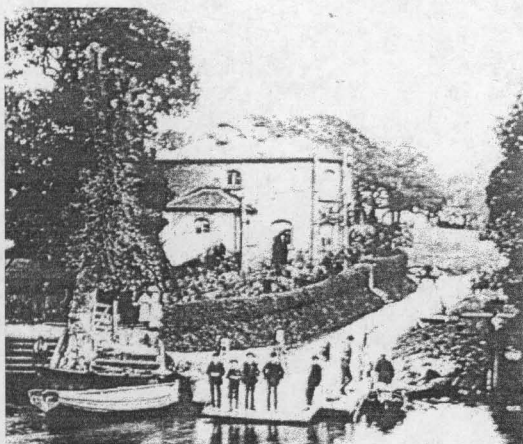
School and Schoolmaster's house at Eccleston.

The school in Pulford closed in the 1980s and has suffered conversion to cottages. This building had additions designed by Douglas in 1874 (at cost £620) in the Estate style. A review of the school log books from 1870-1900 show a school growing to match the population growth of Pulford. (In 1874 69 children, 1881 86 children, 89 in 1891 and 102 in 1899.) The Estate maintained a direct interest in the school and the log book revealed visits by the Duke. Failure to attend school incurred "Lord Westminster's rules" although these remain an unknown quantity as they were "not imposed" in 1871, according to the Headmaster. During the period there was also a school in Poulton.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

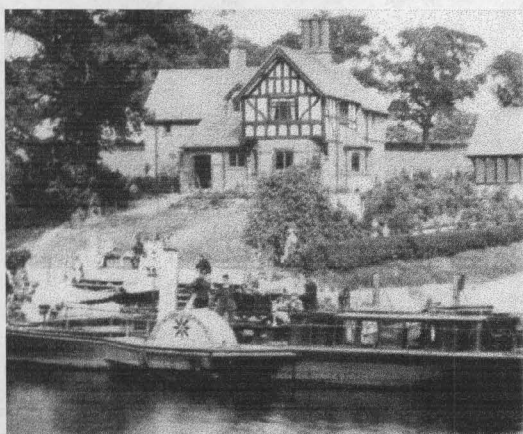
It has not been possible to clearly establish in all cases whether a structure was a replacement or entirely new during the re-building period. One illustration of a replacement was the Eccleston ferry house. The replacement building was built around 1887. There has been a ferry at Eccleston, across the river Dee, since Domesday Book.

The ferry boat required manning and tolls had to be collected on behalf of the landlord, consequently a house was provided for the ferryman. The reproduced photographs shown below clearly show a ferry house on the present site before 1887 and the replacement designed by Douglas after 1887. The ferry was a popular spot to visit on the Dee and the third photograph shows a steam launch again around 1887 at the ferry, with the newly constructed ferry building and outhouses in the back ground. A modern photograph is also shown.



The Ferry House, Eccleston (1880)

Taken from Tomlinson's *Victorian and Edwardian Chester*.



The Ferry House, Eccleston (1887)

Taken from Frances Frith Collection [1722]



The Ferry house, Eccleston (1998)

The Duke's interest in the welfare of his tenants led to the provision of village halls / reading rooms which offered an educational opportunity for the local populace. Village halls are still in use in both Eccleston and Pulford and continue to provide a meeting place for village activities and enhance the sense of community which the Duke had sought to foster. The photo shows Pulford village hall / reading room.

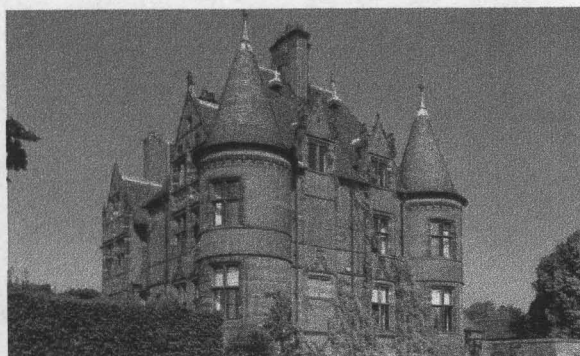


Pulford Village Hall (1998)

New lodges for the approaches to the Estate were constructed at all entry points. Clearly the Duke wished to emphasise the visual impact of his re-building to every visitor. The Estate was opened to the public by the 1st and 2nd marquises and the 1st Duke continued the tradition of welcoming visitors. [Benevolent landlords positively encouraged local people to enjoy their parks and grounds e.g. the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle.]

Eaton was a popular destination. Access was via the growing rail network, by boat on the Dee or by road. The Estate opened in June, July and August from 10 o'clock until 4. By 1891 some 17,000 visitors passed the Eaton lodges, mostly in groups, including "cheap excursionists" who paid only 3 pence each. The purpose of low entry price was to maximise access to the Estate. Proceeds from ticket sales covered the costs of opening and any surplus was distributed to local charities. Baedeker's guide to Great Britain [1887 edition] spoke of sylvan beauties and a well timbered park, the new buildings were designed to integrate and complement with this landscape and the Duke was willing to expend considerable sums to emphasise the landscape changes using new entrance lodges. At Eccleston £3,971 were spent on the main lodge [see photo in chapter one] and at Aldford 2 lodges cost £3,813.

The Duke provided his most important servants with residences appropriate to their position. The Duke's Agent and his Secretary were provided with substantial properties at Eccleston and Pulford. The costs were also substantial - £14,933 for the Agents House and Estate Offices, £8,973 for the Secretary. The photo below shows the Agent's house, 'The Paddocks' at Eccleston (taken from Hubbard's *John Douglas*).



Additionally the Duke provided shopping facilities which were purpose built in villages if no provision existed. At Eccleston a shop (see photo) was constructed which formed part of small centralised cottage development whereas Pulford had a Post Office and shop already.[listed in the Trade Directories]. The Duke did not like the consumption of alcohol favouring temperance, provision of Public houses created a difficulty for him in moral terms but provision was made [Aldford] or extended [Pulford]. Although he was well content to close public houses on the Estate [see Chapter 2 letter to the editor of *Chester Chronicle*].

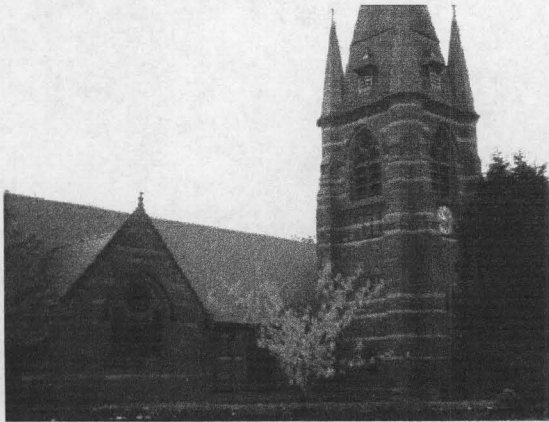


The Shop at Eccleston (now an Estate cottage)

CHURCHES

The Duke was a deeply religious man and spent over £45,000 on new and additional churches and accompanying rectories, on the Estate from 1870-1900. The church of St Mary in Pulford was newly constructed from 1881-4, at a cost of £11,129, and designed by Douglas. Pevsner describes the church as being of red sandstone with bands of lighter stone, arcaded

panelling below the bell openings and that it has the distinctive outline of shingled spire and pinnacles with tiny dormers in the spire, he states “it is unmistakable Douglas”. [see photo]²³



Church of St. Mary at Pulford.

At Eccleston the existing church was retained initially [designed by Porden 1809-13 and demolished in 1900] and a new church built close by. The new church was completed in 1899 and designed not by Douglas but by G.F. Bodley. Built of red sandstone, ashlar, quarried locally the building’s exterior “is characterized by an almost stark rectangularity”. [Pevsner]²⁴ There is a west bell tower and little adornment on the outside, although there are flying buttresses. There remains a fragment of Porden’s church in the old churchyard. The old churchyard continues to be used for Grosvenor family burials. [see photos below]

In conclusion it can be said that the achievement of the re-building of the Estate was recognised as early as 1881 when the *British Architect* commented that “the buildings erected on the Eaton Estate in way of lodges, farmhouses, cottages, etc. were so admirable in design and execution that the whole Eaton Estate is a model of its kind.”

²³ Pevsner *Cheshire* p 317

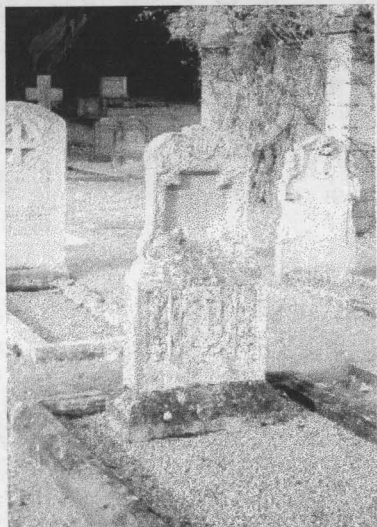
²⁴ Pevsner *Cheshire* p 213



Eccleston Church (1998)



Old churchyard, Eccleston with the remains of Porden's church.



Headstone of Hugh Lupus, 1st Duke of Westminster in old churchyard Eccleston.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTRUCTORS - ARCHITECTS & BUILDERS

The Duke could have chosen any architect or builder. The Estate had utilised the services of many of the leading architects of the period on its properties in London, Cheshire, Wales and Scotland. Given the obvious availability of financial resources from the Welsh mineral royalties, the London rentals and the farming activities, the prestige attached to commissions from one of the country's wealthiest patrons and the desire to construct substantial numbers of new buildings it could have been anticipated that the designs for the Estate would have been undertaken by an architect of considerable renown such as Alfred Waterhouse, who rebuilt Eaton Hall.

The Duke's choice of architect was however a local man, connected with the Estate, who was to offer designs which suited the Dukes' aesthetic notions. The death of the architect T.D. Penson, previously favoured by the Estate, had occurred in 1864 which created a vacancy - an opportunity for new ideas to be considered.

The main architect who contributed to the transformation of the physical appearance of the Eaton Estate was John Douglas. John Douglas was local man, born in Sandiway [Cheshire] in 1830. He died in 1911. He followed his father's interest in building [his father John Douglas Senior was a builder] but Douglas Junior became an architect and by 1860 had established an office in Abbey Square, Chester. After the death of his son Douglas entered into partnership, firstly in 1884 with Daniel Fordham and later in 1889 on Fordham's retirement with Charles Minshull. Hubbard describes a "flood of work which for 20 years flowed unabated through Douglas' office"¹ from the Eaton Estate. The practice Douglas developed was predominantly domestic and ecclesiastical which suited the demands of the Estate. There was the occasional public building (e.g. Chester City Swimming Baths.)

¹ Edward Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* (London 1991)p 21

Douglas had trained with E.G.Paley [1823-95] who was a leading exponent of Early Victorian Gothic. Gothic was viewed at this period as being the archaeologically correct form of construction being perceived as honest, moral and religious in its inspiration. Douglas' designs were partly influenced by the Gothic and given the strongly held religious beliefs of the Duke, the style and architect would seem logical choices.

Alfred Waterhouse had designed the re-building of the Hall and stables [1870-82] but in the stables the Gothic style of the main house was softened and was designed in a form which had empathy with the Douglas designs. It would appear that the Duke had been influenced away from the Gothic toward the vernacular style offered by Douglas. It has not been possible to establish whether the change of style originated with the Duke or the Douglas designs or if it was a combination but the stables were certainly created and later extended in architecturally sympathetic styles using similar materials -half timbering, red stone and brick and red tile roofs. (A list of additions after 1869² reveals the costs of altering the stables to the stud [£535], stallion boxes[£2963] and coach house and stables[£685]).

The Duke was a paternalistic employer and there was a strong Douglas family connection to the Estate, as John's mother was born in the Estate village of Aldford in 1792. His grandfather was the village blacksmith in Eccleston and three other members of the family served as the village blacksmith at later dates. Relatives, the Swindley family, were in residence at the smithy at Eccleston during the later quarter of the century.



Smithy Cottage, Eccleston (1998)

² EEO ref. 13/265

Clearly there was a family history of providing services to the Estate, a tradition which Douglas continued over a lengthy period from 1865 when he undertook a commission [Aldford church] for the 2nd Marquess of Westminster, through the re-building period for the 1st Duke and a last Estate project in 1907 when additions to the laundry at Eaton Hall were undertaken for the 2nd Duke.

It has been suggested by Hubbard that there was a major influence upon the style of Douglas's work as a consequence of his father being a builder and that this would have given Douglas a very developed understanding of materials and techniques. Hubbard describes "the masterly use and understanding of building materials which characterise his work as an architect" and his timber detailing as being of "an exceptionally high order, suggesting a real love and feeling for the material."³

The significance of the choice of Douglas becomes apparent when an analysis of the buildings undertaken by the Estate after 1869⁴ [EEO 13/265] is compared to the comprehensive list offered by Hubbard as identified works and the Estate account books are reviewed. Clearly Douglas designed and supervised directly or on a design fee basis only, almost all of the re-building. The only exceptions were of certain ecclesiastical commissions (e.g. Eccleston church and buildings) which were designed *in house* by the Estate Office or Works Department [such buildings were referenced to the designs of Douglas].

In the 1890s a dispute arose over the practise of using internal Estate design as Douglas had an agreement that if a design was repeated and quantities supplied and superintendence given the two and a half per cent commission was payable rather than the usual 5% shown in the Estate ledgers. In the late 1880s cottages had been designed and constructed in two specific styles with different elevations, either of brick and terracotta with two small gables or with larger gables and some half timbering, and these designs were used as prototypes during the 1890s. The Estate office adapted the designs to incorporate a large gable

³ E. Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 3

⁴ EEO ref. 13/265

type and eleven pairs of cottages were constructed by a local contractor Peter Edwards and later five pairs by the contractor Parker Bros. A settlement was reached which recognised the design as being Douglas with payments to Douglas in 1892 & 1893.

When consideration is given to the fact that the Duke entrusted design of the re-building to one provincial architect, the suggestion must be of a complete confidence in the architect to effect a style which reflected the Duke's vision. Hubbard⁵ comments that the "endeavours of the first Duke of Westminster were among the most extensive and admirable of all instances of Victorian aristocratic patronage. Moreover, there can surely have been few cases in the history of architecture in which a designer has executed for a private patron more works than John Douglas undertook for the Duke".

It does seem somewhat surprising that having displayed such confidence in the design ability of his chosen architect and the long term nature of the re-building exercise that there would not be some evidence to suggest a personal relationship between the Duke and his architect. A review of available material revealed only one direct communication. A letter from Douglas to the Duke [written in 1878 the original is not in the EEO archive but held in transcript at University of Liverpool Archivist] in the form of a report on the model farm at Wrexham Road.

There must have been personal meetings between the Duke and Douglas as appointments and scheduled meetings are identifiable in Estate records but no written record of the content of meetings has been found. Other communications between the patron and Douglas were either in the form of notes written upon designs to indicate changes or via Cecil T. Parker, the Duke's Agent [Agent 1881 until his death in 1911]. It would appear mistaken to expect a respect for the undoubted abilities of Douglas to lead to a direct personal relationship. The customary relationship at this period between servant and master was in no way equal and the tone and tenor of communication between the Duke's Agent [extremely business like with no

⁵ E. Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 60

attempt at civility, almost offensive to modern communication] makes Douglas' subservient position clear. A typical example on 20th October 1883

Dear Sir

I return the Office plan and have made a few remarks in pencil.

£24 is absurd for the Gates. If he cannot make them for less I will have them made at the *Cuckoo's Nest*

I will see His Grace as to hassocks and seats. Have you done anything about Umbrella Stands.

Your Faithfully

Cecil T. Parker

The letter questioned Douglas' designs [alterations], professional competence in choice of supplier [the Agent will affect rectification], indication that contact with the Duke is via the Agent only [*I will see...*] and finished by reminder of the need to complete a task [indicating a lack of trust in the ability of Douglas to perform the indicated function]. Given that Douglas had been undertaking work for the Estate for two decades it might have been expected to find some evidence of respect.

Hubbard suggests that the impersonal and almost hostile written communication between Parker and Douglas was a personal matter and that "the Duke of Westminster, for whom almost every architect in England would have been glad to work, would not over a period 30 years have given such steady and extensive employment to one in whom he did not have confidence, and of whose abilities he could have been in doubt."⁶

The Duke was interested in existing designs for farms and wished Douglas to consider, apply and adapt. Douglas does appear content to accept dictates from the Duke on detailed matters of design. In the 1878 Wrexham Road Farm report Douglas discussed the designs for a farm at Grafton in Cheshire [architect John Birch] which Douglas was happy to adapt at the Duke's behest whilst feeling able to express his reservations on the re-design. After

studying the original design and amending he wrote “ All this I have done in accordance with Your Grace’s wish to achieve a layout similar to Grafton. While the massing of the building seems now less satisfactory than in its original form, I am confident that the plan must now meet with your approval.”⁷ Notations on drawings made by Douglas and submitted to the Duke reveal the shared interest of Duke and architect in reaching solutions which were both practical and aesthetically pleasing. The pencil notations which frequently appeared on drawings would appear to indicate that the Duke maintained a close personal interest in the re-designing of his Estate.

The style chosen incorporated the traditional “black and white” of local Cheshire architecture. “Black and white” buildings had been a major feature of the local landscape since medieval times. In the later half of the 19th century Chester experienced a general revival of interest in the style and many buildings in Chester reflect this interest today. It is unsurprising then that John Douglas should have included half timbering in his designs.

Douglas had been in partnership with C.H.Minshull who later [1910] saw Douglas as a successful exponent of half timbering which was applied with enthusiasm on the Estate. Hubbard suggests that the Estate was re-built as a Late Victorian Vernacular Revival in which half timber was used to picturesque effect.

The designs placed emphasis on the use of localised resources, if available, specifically materials and labour. The utilisation of local resources should have minimised the costs to the Estate whilst providing employment and influence in the local community. Some materials were produced on the Estate and employed in the new buildings. The Estate had its own brick works at Pulford, Balderton and Eaton. Red sandstone was quarried in the village of Eccleston. Timber was produced on the Estate and given a value when used on buildings. The accounts ⁸ described the model farm at Wrexham Road which Douglas designed as using Estate and foreign timber. Some £94 was spent in 1886 on the foreign timber used and £12 on local timber

⁶ E. Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p.70

⁷ 1878 report by Douglas to the Duke

when the farm was constructed.. Local businesses provided the bricks, labour[Joshua⁸ Smith], pipes and ironmongery [J.G.Shaw and Thomas Wood].

Local suppliers of services named and listed in Estate account records⁹included plumbers, paviors, painters, brick and tile makers, bricklayers wheelwrights, pipemakers, builders, thatchers, slaters, blacksmith, carpenters, engineers, labourers and two well sinkers/makers. The amounts identified could be substantial. John Ennion of Balderton, one of a large number of suppliers of brick and tile received £2334 between 1877 and 1889 the amounts are evenly spread over the period revealing that the Estate could offer¹⁰ a steady, stable and continuing relationship to its suppliers

The deliberate policy of employing local suppliers is revealed by the Estate ledgers the contractors/builders, selected by competitive tender, can be identified as a small circle of local providers. The main builders mentioned included George Parker from Eccleston [later Parker Bros. when his sons joined the business] who received among many other payments £3553 to construct Wrexham Road farm previously mentioned¹¹, between 1889-93 the large sum of £27461 was paid by the Estate for building work. Parker Bros. worked outside the Estate and was responsible for St Deiniol's library built at Hawarden by public subscription as a lasting memorial to the memory of the great Victorian statesmen, W.E. Gladstone.

In the ledger from 1890¹² Peter Edwards of Estate village of Dodleston was paid the extremely large sum £29163 for work undertaken on the Estate between 1889-95. Thomas Hughes [Aldford] built the substantial *The Paddocks*[Eccleston] for occupation by Cecil Parker and W.W. Freeman [Chester] deserve mention as all of the above received substantial business, over a lengthy period, from the Estate.

A major component of the Douglas designs embodied use of highly decorated wood in a style of southern Germany, with fantasy elements incorporated. The Eccleston Hill lodge (see

⁸ EEO ref. 417 p. 512

⁹ EEO ref. 478/478/417

¹⁰ EEO ref. 478

¹¹ EEO ref. 478

photo Chap. 2) is a most fabulous example of this style, a truly dramatic building¹² of three stories building with a rib vaulted gateway, Hubbard described the building thus “So intense is the concentration of Germanic and other characteristic forms and details that it appears almost as a Douglas self parody”¹³. Hubbard then identified the style elements which can be found reflected in part or whole in the Douglas designs describing the “red-hipped roof with chamfered corners, so steep as to be virtually a spire, rises between four tourelles; on the outer side a central vertical panel contained within wall shafts includes armorial bearings and ends in its own spirelet; hipped roofed blocks abut against either side of the tower, and one of these has its own conical roofed staircase turret”.¹⁴

Both partners of Douglas, Fordham and Minshull, travelled in Germany and could have influenced designs toward the Germanic and it is possible that Douglas himself visited Germany. [no record is extant] Although it may be that the Duke was the one responsible for this Germanic content of the designs either by suggesting or requesting some of the features he had witnessed and admired whilst undertaking his Grand Tour. Contemporary architectural sources such as the *Builder and the Architect* may also have been influential. An article in the *Architect* in the 1870s offered pictures of Nuremberg, a city much enjoyed by the 1st Duke, although detailed designs were not given in the article it may have been inspirational and therefore reinforced ideas that Douglas and his patron had been considering.

Early in his career upto the 1860s Douglas practised the architectural style known as High Victorianism but by the time of his association with the Eaton Estate different stylistic approaches had been developed which have been categorised as Vernacular, Germanic, Gothic and Elizabethan. The categories were not distinct and an individual building could reflect more than one style. The first example of Grosvenor patronage in Grosvenor Park in Chester[1865-7] is also the first known use by Douglas of the “black and white “ style which he employed to such impressive effect during the re-building period.

¹² EEO ref. 479

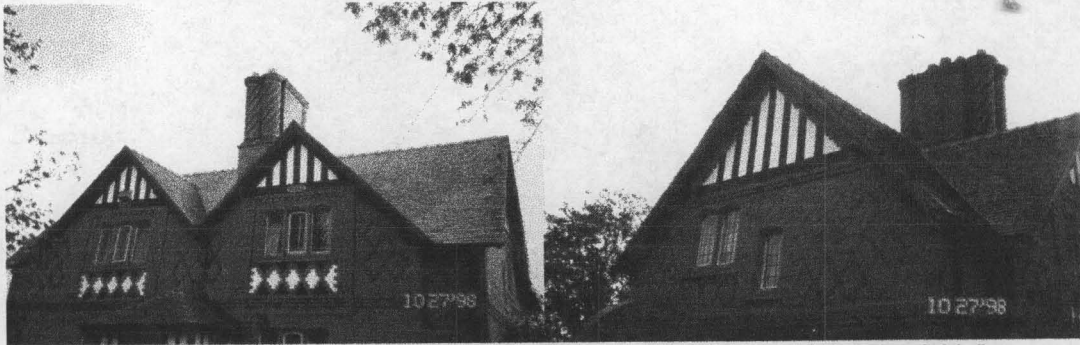
¹³ E. Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 119

Douglas can be seen as part of the movement away from the High Victorian style exemplified by Waterhouse toward the Aesthetic Movement which flowered in the last quarter of the 19th century. The Movement involved a re-appraisal of the principles of design and aimed to combine varying materials and styles within an English rural tradition, the leading exponents included R. Norman Shaw [1831-1912] and W. Eden Nesfield [1835-88]. The style was eclectic including use of brick, half timbering, tile hanging, pargetting and distinctive brick chimneystacks with artistic additions. There are extensive examples of Douglas using variety in his designs for example tile hanging and incised pargetting were used by Douglas in 1870-1 at the Park keepers cottage in Eaton Park.

Douglas did not abandon the High Victorian completely, such that its continued use has been described as the Germanic influence in his designs. Eaton Stud offered the classic example of the bringing together of the vernacular [half timbering] and Germanic [roof design] elements of his architectural style.

The other main feature of the Douglas designs which exemplified the style was the detailing which was extremely distinctive. The detailing used the available materials with care, exploring their qualities in such a way as to reveal the importance that Douglas placed upon their appropriate use in his designs. The result was seen for example in the brickwork when different types and shadings were used to create patterns in combination with the characteristic dark brown roofing tiles which produced a harmonious effect. Photos below show remarkable style effort even in cottages (at Pulford), the attention to detail and style are evident even in such a modest commission. Note the detail in the brickwork, the half timber and the fantastical chimneys.

¹⁴ E Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 419



Two views of a pair of cottages at Pulford, now one property "Woodside".

Work for the Duke was to give Douglas a national reputation and the acknowledgement of his peers. "British Architect " in 1877 described the work of Douglas as "simple, pleasing, and effective domestic architecture, such examples as we have lately given of Mr Douglas' designs are unsurpassed". And again in 1898 "There has been no practice of the art of architecture in this country more consistent in its general excellence of aim and attainment than that carried on for many years by Mr John Douglas of Chester Whether it be a row of cottages or a nobleman's house, a large academy or a village school, a country church or the most elaborate effort possible, the same level of thoroughness and high level of accomplishment has followed through all." In his obituary in the same publication [1911] Douglas was described as having "achieved a reputation which has long placed him in the front rank of living architects.....we do not believe that this country has ever seen a more admirable professional life".¹⁵

Douglas had produced buildings which were highly individualistic with dominant themes being "English vernacular and German secular gothic precedents" and displayed consistent attention to detail and quality . These structures in the landscape bear witness to a skilled and able architect who created a lasting legacy which complemented the local scene. Douglas' epitaph was effectively written by a contemporary architect Hermann Muthesius in his *Die Neuere Kirchliche Baukunst in England* [1901] when he said "Born and resident in Cheshire the home of true half timbering, he devoted himself most lovingly to the reintroduction

¹⁵ E. Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 34

of the style, mastered it down to the last detail and produced buildings of great charm. Yet he also handled brick and stone with great skill. His buildings always reflect consummate mastery of form and are yet simple enough in feeling and natural looking fitness for purpose to stand comparison with the old houses".¹⁶

¹⁶ quoted by E. Hubbard p 140

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CARTOGRAPHERS - PHYSICAL CHANGE IN THE LANDSCAPE

In seeking to identify the physical changes in the landscape a consideration of available maps of the Estate area was made. The earliest map shown is the work of Burdett in 1777¹ which shows the major settlements in the Chester area. Chester is clearly marked as the major centre of population. Eaton Hall is identified on the south east corner close to the River Dee with the outline of the park and its trees.

The main Estate villages around the Hall are shown - Pulford, Poulton, Aldford, and in slightly larger print presumably to signify its importance and or size, Eccleston. There were major changes to the road network between the date of this map and the period under consideration when in the 1800s a new turnpike road from Chester to Wrexham connected Eccleston to the Wrexham road near Belgrave. Alterations to the Estate boundaries led to the road east of Poulton which ran close to Eaton Hall becoming an Estate road without open public access.

The tithe map for the township of Pulford in 1836 has been provided to indicate how all pervasive the Grosvenor presence was in the area. Land ownership lay entirely with the Marquis of Westminster, apart from the glebe land [marked C2] and two landowners with small areas around Pulford Hall home of Miss A Burganey [fields A1 to A7 and A9 & A10] and Daniel Lea [B2 to B4] off the Dodleston Lane.²

The current OS map 1:50,000 has been used to offer a condensed picture of the extent of the Estate boundaries during the period 1870-1900. The detail for the boundaries was taken from the Ordnance Survey First edition map of 1874 which had been used by the Estate. (EEO ref. 81) Unfortunately there was no Estate map nor an OS map of the period which was easily usable in size to display the extent of the Grosvenor land holdings, hence the overlay of the boundaries upon a current map.

¹ see appendix A

The Estate stretched from the City of Chester in the north, toward the Welsh hills and across the Welsh border into Wales. At its most westerly point the Estate boundary reached into Wales west of the old LNWR rail line to Lower Kinnerton. Available maps of the period do not offer the cross border picture with Wales and Cheshire being in England presented on adjacent and separate maps. The boundary then followed south down the railway and included Burton Meadows west of Pulford. Turning eastward the boundary followed the Pulford Brook which marked and still marks the boundary between England and Wales, Trevalyn Meadows formed part of the Estate at this time and lay in Wales. The boundary continued to the east to Churton then turned north and included Lea Newbold. Turning east again to Golborne Manor the boundary then turned north through Hatton Heath before turning east. At the Shropshire Union Canal the boundary ran north along the River Gowy towards Stamford Bridge, looping around Waverton and the parishes of Cotton Edmunds and Cotton Abbots. From Cotton Edmunds the boundary was relatively straight passed Rowton until it reached the River Dee at Eccleston and followed the river up to Chester and looped around to the main road leading down to Wrexham. About 2 miles south west of Chester the boundary finally turned westward again toward Kinnerton [see map appendix A]

The Ordnance Survey maps 1st Edition 1874 and 2nd Edition 1899 were consulted for the local area. In 1874, only a large sized map was available, although by 1899 the same area had been sub-divided into a more manageable size. Selected sections of the maps have therefore been included for comparison, specifically centred on the villages of Pulford and Eccleston. It would not be possible to identify all the structural changes between the two dates but the maps do offer an opportunity to identify changes in the landscape, particularly those buildings on entirely new sites or no longer in existence.³

Examples of changes on the Pulford maps revealed various new buildings. A farm is shown on a *green field site*, south of the road between Pulford and Poulton on the 1899 map

² see appendix A

³ see appendix A

but was not visible on the 1874 equivalent. Brookside Farm and outbuildings had been constructed on Estate land, utilising an available access road from the Poulton Lane crossing the Pulford Approach to the Hall. This model farm was designed by John Douglas and constructed in 1885-6. The layout of the farm maximised the flow of activities through the farm buildings from “drift” shed for unloading the hay to the manure shed. The cost was the not insubstantial sum of £6375-10-0 according to EEO records for buildings constructed after 1869 on the Estate.⁴ The farm was called Dykes in the records at this period but is called Brookside today.

Close to the entry point to Brookside and north of Poulton Lane (now Old Lane) a new pair of cottages were erected, of plain design, they do not have the half timbering usually found in the Douglas buildings (see photo chapter 2).

To the east of Brookside is Yew Tree Farm [known locally as Jacksons] which existed on both 1874 and 1899 maps but the size and layout have been changed to meet the changing demands of altered farming methods and approaches. Confirmation exists in the EEO documentation that John Douglas undertook a redesign in 1885-6 at a cost of £2454-13-0 [see photo below].



Yew Tree Farm, Poulton (1998)

The village of Pulford gained a “reading room” (library provided by the Estate) which appeared on the 1899 map, this building continues to serve as the village hall. But lost to

⁴ EEO ref. 13/265

Pulford was its Hall which lay west of the Wrexham Road and north of Pulford village and disappeared between 1874 and 1899.

Continuing along the Wrexham Road to the north of Pulford some *ribbon development* took place and the brickworks at Cuckoo's Nest show considerable extension from 1874 to 1899 as the Estate was re-built. The 1899 map reveals the spur of the 15 inch gauge railway which ran to the Hall servicing the works also.

Eccleston changed considerably between the two dates but it is the presence of two consecrated churches shown on the 1899 map (only one on 1874) which seems most surprising initially. However if the established approach of the Estate is considered i.e. to provide continuity rather than disruption allowing the two churches to operate in parallel would appear logical.

Estate holdings are still considerable despite land sell offs early in the 20th century and influence on the present landscape in the local Chester area remains significant.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POPULATORS - DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

There can be little doubt that the re-building of the Eaton Estate in the period of the first Duke of Westminster (1874-1899) produced substantial physical changes in the landscape. The scale of the alterations in Estate buildings could suggest the likelihood of radical change in the local community as buildings disappeared and were or were not replaced, as additional new buildings were constructed and consequent population movements occurred.

To evaluate the impact of the changes upon the local community evidence was considered principally from four townships forming part of the Estate, Pulford, Poulton, Eccleston and Eaton.

The demographic evidence considered was reviewed in the light of establishing the answers to a series of questions. Was there an increase in the absolute number of buildings? Did the size of the local population increase in the four townships? Was the increase in line with general demographic trends? Did the number of Estate buildings increase substantially? Was there a significant increase in the number of Estate tenants? Was there support for a major population movement into the area, either permanently or temporarily (whilst building work was undertaken)? How substantial was the re-building in relation to existing properties?

To attempt to answer these questions different sources were consulted. The government population Censuses for the 19th century were considered in some detail, particularly with reference to the four townships. To derive comparative data, Census statistics were totalled and summarised from individual Census sheets for relevant years and each of the four townships. The 1871 / 1881 / 1891 Censuses provided the primary source.¹

(See tables I-V with graphical presentation below)

¹ Cheshire Record Office Eccleston (with Eaton) 1871 MF 24/34, 1881 MF 146/21, 1891 MF 226/124
Pulford (with Poulton) 1871 MF 24/34, 1881 MF 146/21, 1891 MF 265/24

Total data for the County of Chester [all data used is taken from Censuses 1801-1881 in which County of Chester is identified as Division VIII North West Counties] was utilised as a benchmark and the summarised totals for the years 1801-1891 are shown in Table VI (with graphs). Data for other townships (Aldford, Kinnerton, Dodleston) on the Estate was also established for 1871/1881/1891 for benchmarking purposes.

The records of the Eaton Estate were consulted, primarily the Tenant Books for the years 1875, 1883-4, 1888-9, 1898-9. The details relating to numbers of tenants (derived by totalling individual sheets for each year and township) were established.²

(See table VII)

Estate documents establishing the number of properties constructed were consulted and costs of construction derived. All data derived has been tabulated and graphed to support the analysis offered.

The demographic statistics were also reviewed in the light of general trends during the 19th century. General demographic trends show a high rate of natural increase in the population, as the birth rate rose above the mortality rate. England and Wales experienced an overall increase in population of around a third (some 30 - 40 million from 1871 to 1901).

In 1851 half of the population of England and Wales lived in rural areas (around 20% were employed directly in agriculture). As industrialisation of the economy gathered pace the general population became increasingly urbanised and by 1901 only one fifth of the population lived in rural environments, with only one twelfth employed directly in agriculture.

In the last quarter of the 19th century two other major factors exercised influence over the continuing decline in rural population. Firstly, migration, as the generally increasing population sought wider opportunities outside the geographic area of England and Wales and secondly, rural depopulation as agriculture entered a period of severe depression and the demand for agricultural labour declined. The decline in demand for agricultural labour at this

² EE O ref 216/224/229/239

time also led to a decline in the supporting rural craft industries which reinforced the downward trend in rural employment.

The “Agricultural Depression” of the late 19th century followed what has been described as the “golden age of farming” when agriculture offered high returns on investment. Around 1875 the economics of farming changed as a result of climatic change. A period of extremely wet weather occurred which led to a series of poor harvests. Particularly poor in 1879 when all types of farming were affected. The cereal growing areas had benefited most from the expansion in agriculture and now suffered the greatest problems. Crop yields were low and importation of cheap grain from the USA and Canada held prices down. With high capital investment costs and low returns significant numbers of farmers found it uneconomic to continue and left the industry, thus reducing the demand for agricultural labour. (It has been suggested that northern farmers who utilised family labour rather than employing labourers and therefore lower overheads were in a better position to prosper in this difficult trading period and perhaps to purchase the farms of those leaving the industry).

Cheshire was not a cereal producing area primarily. The major type of farming was based upon dairy herds with a limited exposure to the downturn in cereal prices but the urbanisation and migration had significant effects as the cities of the North West grew rapidly. An analysis of Eaton Estate farm rentals (analysed in detail in Chapter 2) in the period 1870-1900 show a lack of increase in total rent received. In 1875 the rental roll show rentals paid of £25,184. Only a small increase was achieved over the last 25 years of the century; from 1875 to 1899 rentals rose to £25,590, in fact there was a decrease in rentals in the period 1888-9. With little change in Estate acreage, it would appear that the effects of the depression were being felt even in the areas such as Cheshire which were least dependent on cereals.

The demographic experience of the County of Chester at this period reflected the general trend of rising population. In 1801 the Census for County of Chester reported a

population of 192,305 increasing to a massive 730,085 by 1891³. In 1871 population was 561,201 there was an increase of around 30% from the 1871 to 1891 Census (with male and female increasing in similar proportions). Table VI provides detail of population at each Census date during the 19th century. The steep upward slope of the line graph displays the picture of rising population with the greatest increase toward the end of the century. The split between male and female remained fairly constant through the whole century.

The summarised data also offers detail of the significant growth in properties in this period. Again a line graph was used to illustrate a similar pattern to that of population growth. Rising property numbers are shown by the statistics with the sharpest increase at the later end of the century. House numbers rose from a total of 35,621 properties in 1801 to 156,266 in 1891, from 1871 to 1891 a 31% increase occurred. The information on houses is split to allow some analysis of uninhabited properties and the number of houses under construction.

In considering the relationship of uninhabited to inhabited houses the pattern is of an increasing number of empty properties, only 3% in 1801, 1851 5% but by 1871 7%. There was a substantial rise in 1881 to 8.7% and by 1891 6.9%, a return to 1871 levels. A possible explanation for the rise in uninhabited properties could be population movement to the cities which left rural properties empty, with most building concentrated in areas of need i.e. the urban growth regions. This could help to explain the apparent dichotomy of a figure of 1,215 properties under construction when in the same Census 1881, over 11,009 buildings were empty. A similar problem is experienced today, with empty properties in the older industrial areas (e.g. those regions which supported mining and ship-building) whilst there is a shortage of properties in economic growth areas such as the London area - empty properties exist but in inappropriate locations.

After consideration of the general figures for County of Chester the detail for the four townships was reviewed and the answer to the question of whether there was an increase in the absolute size of the local population established. Here the pattern for the County was repeated

³ summary of census data 1801-91 Cheshire Record Office

in all of the townships, in that there was an continuous rise in the population. However, whilst the County was experiencing 30 % population rise 1871-1891, in three of the townships the level of increase was much lower. Pulford 1871-1891 shows a 14.6% increase, Poulton 1871-91 14.7% and Eccleston slightly higher at 16.2%. The lower level of increase is a possible reflection of those factors previously identified i.e. less demand for agricultural workers with urbanisation playing a part. Eaton experienced an exceptional rise in population from 110 to 239 persons from 1871-91. This significant increase (217%) reflects the re-building of the seat of the Duke of Westminster, at Eaton Hall, within the Eaton township.

The Duke had employed Alfred Waterhouse (architect of Manchester Town Hall and with a national reputation) to undertake major alterations to the Hall, at an estimated cost £600,000. Once completed the house was one of the largest in England and required a very substantial staff to maintain and run the Estate. The increase in staff was not purely in the house but from a review of occupations on the Censuses was also in the gardens, in forestry and notably in the stables.

When the Census data for Eaton is considered in conjunction with property statistics it becomes clear that the large increase in staff also required a relatively large increase in properties. In 1871 there were 18 properties listed in Eaton, which rose to 24 in 1881 and in 1891 31 houses. 1871- 1891 saw therefore a massive 72 % increase, more than twice the level of the general figures for County of Chester.

In the other three Estate owned townships the pattern was markedly different. In Poulton the houses increased in line with the general trend, showing a steady upward rise from 1871 to 1891, matching the population increase. Poulton saw an significant increase in new farms and alterations to existing buildings which would have required additional labour and necessitate additional cottage construction. This would have produced an constantly upward profile for both population and property.

In Eccleston however properties increased from 53 to 62 from 1871 to 1881 and in 1891 fell to 59. This pattern may be indicative of the re-building programme undertaken under the auspices of the Duke in that although there were some buildings which were on completely new sites, other properties were built as replacements upon existing sites. The church in Eccleston offers an insight into policy decisions where an completely new church was constructed next to the existing church with both churches consecrated and in use simultaneously and regularly for services . The older church was then, at a later date, taken down leaving only a part of one wall with the classic romantic ivy clad ruin appearance. (This ruin stands in the old churchyard and is still the burial ground used by the Grovesnor family today.) [see photos chapter 2]

It is clear the Estate would have had to maintain its labour supply to undertake continuing agricultural activities and it would be essential and customary to provide, on a large Estate, accommodation for all Estate workers. (Key workers are still provided with accommodation today). The period from around 1880 sees the re-building gathering momentum. At this point the Estate probably faced a generalised problem of an overlap, as new buildings were constructed whilst older buildings were retained to ensure continuity of supply of properties for the tenantry.

The subsequent reduction in properties from 1881-91 would reflect the destruction of the older buildings as tenants were installed in the new properties and property numbers stabilised at an appropriate level to the size of the tenantry. Few empty properties were identified in any of the Census material considered (a maximum of one property at any given date) this contrasts with the general picture of the County of Chester and would appear to indicate close control and planning by the Estate to ensure there was no oversupply of property with the attendant costs to the Estate.

It could be argued that the provision of good quality cottages which offered the tenant the incentive of a significant level of self sufficiency (cottages were built with a number of out

buildings, a piggery was often provided and at least a quarter of an acre of land) and would allow a higher standard of living than could be expected in the likely squalor of the cities could encourage the good quality worker to remain in Estate employment.

Pulford houses offered a variation on the standard pattern with 50 in 1871, a decline to 48 in 1881 and then an increase in 1891 to 52. This could be explained in that the pattern of re-building could allow the demolition of old buildings and a delay in the commencement of construction of the new replacement if the demand for labour was less severe than in other townships on the Estate.

There can be little doubt that the main factor governing the variation in population and more specifically the number of properties in the townships was governed by the Estate re-building. If the totals for buildings in Eaton and Eccleston in the 1891 Census - 90 houses - are compared to Estate documentation in relation to new buildings in these townships, constructed from 1869 to 1899, some 28 new properties are listed. (19 cottages, 3 gamekeepers cottages 3 farms and 3 residences for the senior management) This represents almost one third of the housing stock being replaced. The figures for the Pulford and Poulton townships show a similar transformation of 14 cottages, 7 farms and 1 residence - 22 properties out of a total of 81 houses listed in 1891 Census - 27%.

The variations to property numbers being so considerable an additional benchmark was sought using other townships on the Estate in different geographic areas to attempt to establish any strong patterns. Aldford and Dodleston offered a similar pattern to Eccleston - of increasing numbers of houses followed by a fall in numbers. (159 properties 1871, an increase in 1881 to 166 and a drop to 149 in 1891.) Although considerably larger than Eccleston in both population and housing Aldford shared with Eccleston the characteristic of being Estate villages at a main entry point (with entrance lodges) and would have enjoyed some prominence in re-building decisions as the key workers on the Estate were likely to be

housed in these townships. Both villages still retain their principal entry point function today.

(A further township, Dodleston shares the property pattern of Aldford and Eccleston.)

The final area reviewed was the detail of the number of Estate tenants over the period 1870 to 1900. Eaton Estate papers were consulted and data extracted by totalling tenants for each area of the Estate, from the tenant books for the Eaton Estate rentals⁴. Four years were selected to attempt to establish any trends and to allow comparison with the Census material for population over a similar period. The detail for the areas of Pulford and Poulton combined, Eccleston and Eaton combined, Aldford and Dodleston were identified and are shown in the following Table VII noting that the tenants are heads of household plus land only rental.

	1875	1883-4	1888-9	1898-99
Aldford	115	109	106	106
Eccleston/Eaton	56	54	62	62
Poulton/Pulford	76	71	70	70
Dodleston	41	42	45	45

The rental rolls offer an inconsistent picture of movement 1875 to 1883-4 but from 1888-9 to 1898-99 no growth, no decline, no movement. The rental figures for the same period reveal no increase in rents. It would appear that the Estate had established the economic number of tenants required to work Estate land by 1888-9. Building work on the Estate continued during all this period.

An assessment of movement into the area using the Censuses for the 1871/1881/1891 date revealed that there was little indication of an influx of population into the area. The number of persons identified as having been born outside the Estate area was small and mainly belonged to the professional classes e.g. the schoolteachers, local clergy, policemen and merchants. In 1891 in Eccleston the school headmaster was from Little Drayton, Salop with a wife from Ashbourne in Derbyshire, the Rector from Turnham Green in London, a listed, retired merchant from Birmingham, Warwicks. The farmers, labourers, servants, plumbers,

gardeners, joiners, blacksmiths, carpenters, dressmakers, tailors and their apprentices listed in 1891 are local and frequently born within Estate boundaries. There were exceptions, of course, in 1881 we find a fifty year old, widower who is described as foreman mason and born in Paddington, Middlesex living with his four children in Pulford. (The family does not appear on the 1891 Census for Pulford) The speculation could be of imported skilled labour, possibly temporary, to assist in the re-building, with the attraction of an improved quality of life and potentially higher salary. Similarly, in 1871 three masons were lodging in Eccleston, two listed their birthplaces as Preston, Lancs. and the other as Scotland, none of the masons are on the 1881 Census for Eccleston and their status as lodgers could imply a short term contract.

The attempt to answer the questions set earlier in this chapter has produced varied and not necessarily consistent results. The local population did increase in the four townships over the period 1871-1891 but was at a lower level than general demographic trends. There was no major increase in tenant levels identified, in fact, numbers remained static for a portion of the period under consideration. There does not appear to have been any evidence to support significant and potentially disruptive population movement into the townships. The number of buildings in total from the Censuses and from Estate records does not offer a consistent picture, probably due to the timing of destruction of existing buildings in relation to the construction of new or re-built properties, (whether building was immediate or delayed.). Finally, a quarter to a third of existing buildings in townships were replaced with consistently styled buildings over the period under consideration, but it appears to have been planned to minimise the disruption.

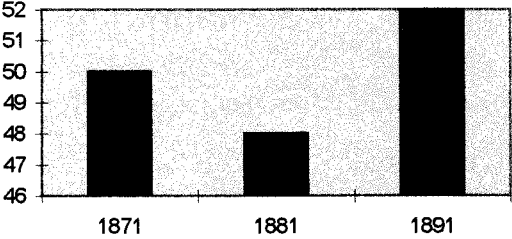
⁴ EEO rental books ref. 216[1875], 224[1883-4],229 [1888-9],239 [1898-9]

Census Statistics for Four Townships on the Eaton Estate - 1871 / 1881 / 1891

Table I

Pulford				
Year	Houses	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1871	50	131	135	266
1881	48	134	130	264
1891	52	141	157	298

No. of Houses in Pulford 1871-1891



Population of Pulford 1871-1891

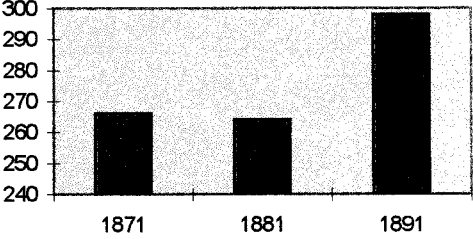
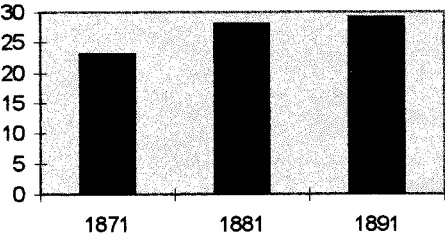


Table II

Poulton				
Year	Houses	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1871	23	87	61	148
1881	28	85	76	161
1891	29	86	84	170

No. of Houses in Poulton 1871-1891



Population of Poulton 1871-1891

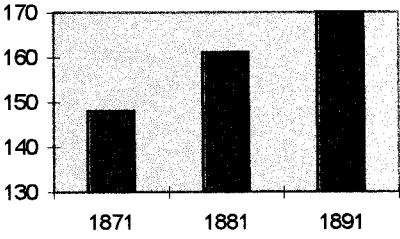
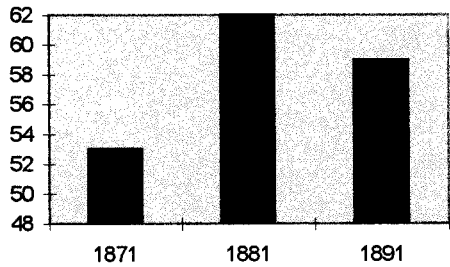


Table III

Eccleston				
Year	Houses	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1871	53	140	155	295
1881	62	164	163	327
1891	59	159	184	343

No. of Houses in Eccleston
from census data 1871-1891



Population of Eccleston from
Census data 1871-1891

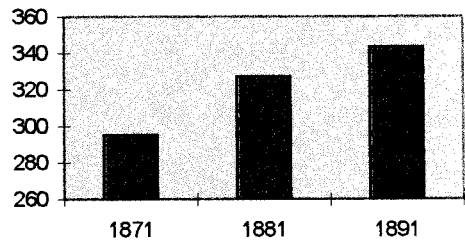
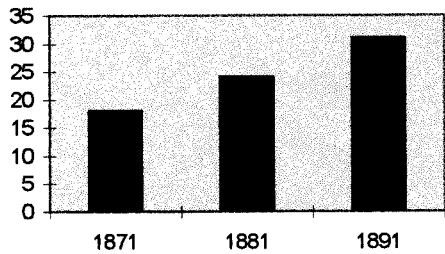


Table IV

Eaton				
Year	Houses	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1871	18	60	50	110
1881	24	77	65	132
1891	31	128	111	239

No. of Houses in Eaton from
Census data 1871-1891



Population of Eaton from
Census data 1871-1891

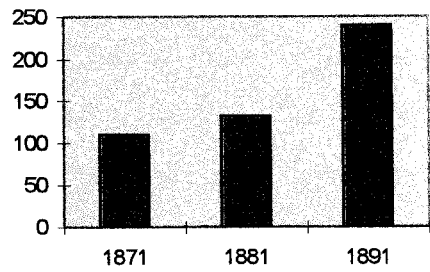
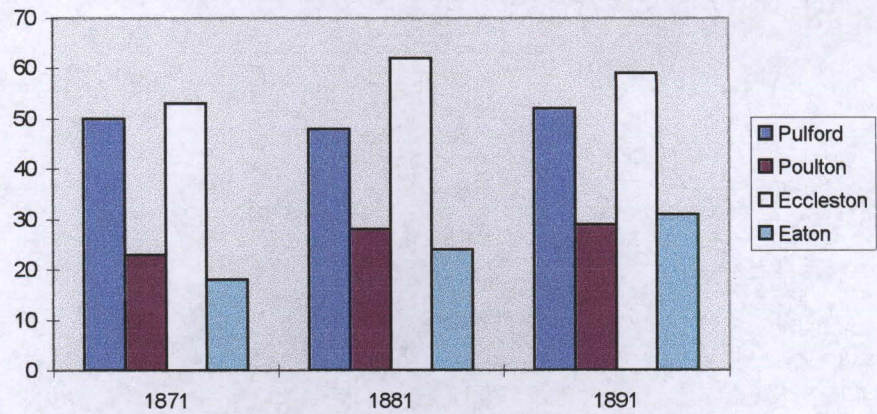


Table V

No. of Properties from Census data 1871-1891



Population from Census data 1871-1891

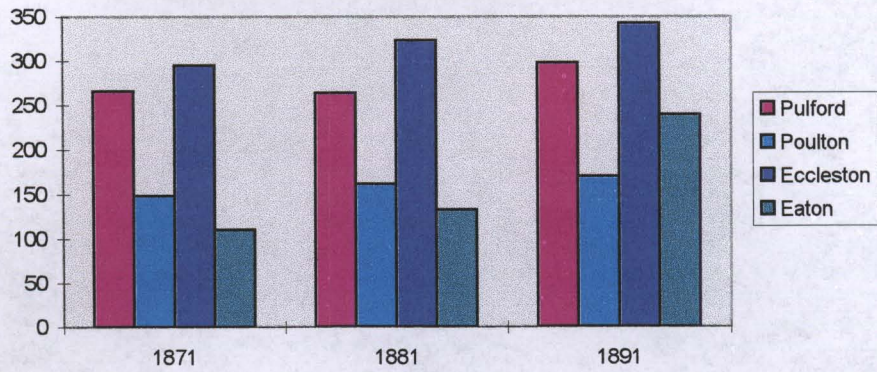


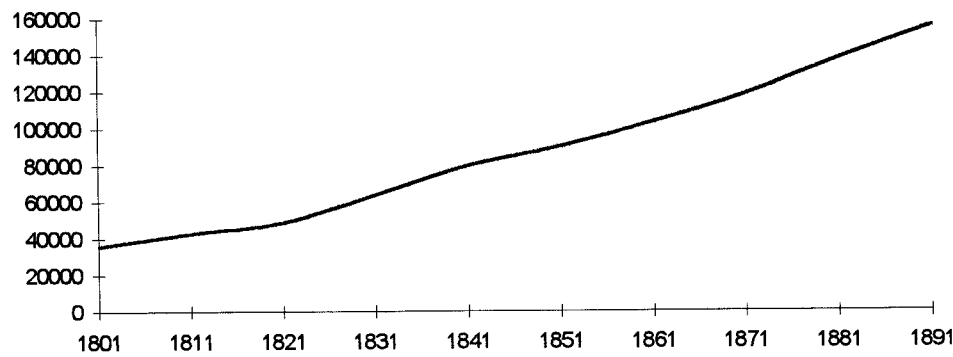
Table VI

Houses and Population of the County of Chester 1801-1891

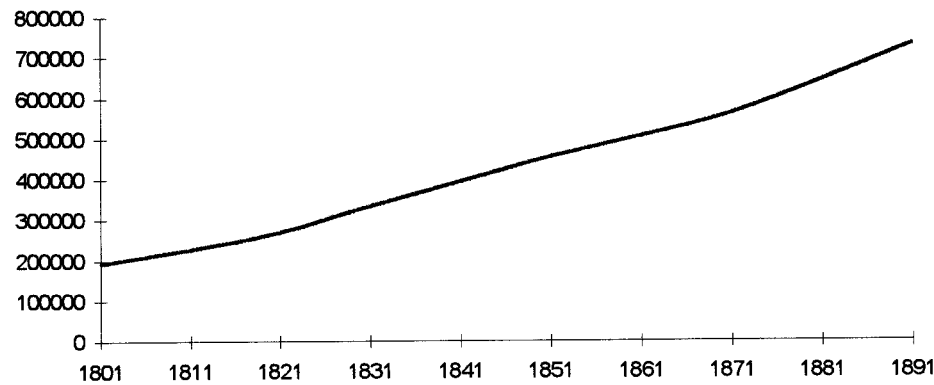
Year	Number of Houses				Population		
	Inhabited	Empty	Building	Total	Male	Female	Total
1801	34482	1139	0	35621	93035	99270	192305
1811	41187	1239	250	42676	110858	116173	227031
1821	47094	1212	414	48720	132952	137146	270098
1831	60748	2818	406	63972	164133	170258	334391
1841	73444	5864	547	79855	193646	202014	395660
1851	85620	4341	845	90446	222386	233339	455725
1861	97874	5420	715	104009	244314	261114	505428
1871	110449	7818	725	118992	271033	290168	561201
1881	126257	11009	1215	138481	311188	332849	644037
1891	145408	10056	802	156266	352936	377122	730058

Source: Census of England and Wales Division VIII NW Counties (HMSO)

Increase in the number of houses in the County of Chester, 1801-1891



Increase in population of the County of Chester, 1801-1891



CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION - THE LEGACY

Leading land owning families have frequently re-built their estates for a variety of reasons - to establish themselves when wealth was recently acquired, to enhance their social position by a display of wealth, to meet the dictates of fashion or simply as an expression of personal taste. The Grosvenors were no exception and the re-building of the Eaton Estate is firmly located within this historically continuing process in estate development.

It is difficult to identify specifically the reasons behind the decision to re-build but perhaps it was a desire to create in the landscape changes which would represent a lasting memorial whilst providing a better environment for all those involved in the Estate. The Duke's great friend and contemporary W.E.Gladstone set out to construct a library for theological study at his home at Hawarden. The library was constructed after his death and remains in constant use today, at St Dieniols at Hawarden. Perhaps the notion of creating a lasting legacy in some form was discussed by the neighbours and friends, with the result that the two great landowners deliberately chose to leave a memorial which was both physical and socially beneficial.

In considering the architectural achievement of the re-building of the Eaton Estate a number of factors need to be reviewed. The most obvious result of the re-building was the sheer quantity of new and altered buildings which were created in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is the volume of construction which meets the eye when visiting the villages of this area of Cheshire. The aim of the Duke was to achieve functional utility to meet the needs of the Estate tenantry and this combined with a desire to create a pleasing prospect.

The British Architect [1881]¹ considered that the re-building was successful and described the Estate as "that happy union of wealth and artistic skill which would make many a fine estate one great picture without a blot from end to end, towards the knowing how fine such

¹ Hubbard *The Work of John Douglas* p 64

a thing may be, a visit to the Eaton Park and estate, near Chester, may be of some help, adding points of interest and beauty to the landscape in a princely manner, in many a picturesque lodge, farmhouse, and village church and school."

The 1st Duke's vision created a lasting memorial in the landscape. What was created presented a new appearance to the landscape which remains today but the presentation was cohesive and complementary, the Duke did not seek to impose a disruptive architectural style.

The driving force behind the re-building of the Eaton Estate expressed a vision of buildings which were in harmony with their environment and had grown from architectural tradition. The built environment created was in sympathy with its surroundings and any imposition of style was in keeping with historic tradition.

In the introduction to his book "Vision of Britain" in 1989 H.R.H the Prince of Wales writing over 100 years later could well have expressed the rationale behind the Duke's efforts. That "our particular island heritage came about as a response to climatic conditions, the availability of certain local materials, and through the inspiration of the grander examples of European architecture. These features give us a sense of belonging and a sense of order".² It can be argued that the Eaton Estate re-building provided and has preserved that sense of order and belonging in the landscape of Cheshire today.

The Estate tradition of using local labour and materials continues . Recent observation (October 1998) of repair and maintenance work undertaken in Eccleston village showed the continuance of high standards of local labour and sympathetic use of appropriate materials.

A recent local press interview in the *Chester Chronicle* 9th October 1998 revealed the continuing commitment of resources by the Grosvenor Estate to the aim of enhancing the local landscape. The present Duke has expressed a wish to restore the Estate to the 1820s design, to which end 600 fallow deer have been reintroduced to the grounds. It is intended to restore the 15 inch railway which was so heavily used during the re-building for movement of goods. The

²HRH The Prince of Wales *A Vision of Britain* [London] 1989 p 10

intention of the present Duke seems to be that of his ancestor in being a desire to improve and upgrade the environment by working in sympathy with the existing landscape. If successful the result will be to preserve, protect and enhance and thus retain and maintain the legacy of the 1st Duke and his architect

The stated objective of this dissertation was to answer six questions the who, where, what, why, how and when of the Eaton Estate re-building in the last quarter of the 19th century. The answers sought have been forthcoming at least in part. This has led to the conclusion that whilst there was a substantial physical transformation of the local environment there was no accompanying disruption of the community. The changes wrought were rather a continuance of the tradition that succeeding generations on great Estates seek to leave an indelible mark for posterity.

Figure 1

Primary Sources

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1.Censuses for townships of Eccleston / Eaton | 1871 - MF 24/34 |
| (Cheshire County Record Office) | 1881 - MF 146/21 |
| | 1891 - MF 226/124 |

- Pulford / Poulton** 1871 - MF 24/34
 1881 - MF 146/21
 1891 - MF 265/24

2.Chester Electoral Registers

(Cheshire County Record Office)

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1871 Cheshire West | - CRO 14/49 QDV 3/68 8 fiche |
| 1881 Cheshire West | - CRO 14/79 QDV 3/98 10 fiche |
| 1891 Eddisbury | - CRO 14/133 CCRg 1/152 9 fiche |

[change of Parliamentary constituency name and boundaries]

3. Eaton Estate Office records held at Eaton Hall available via Cheshire County Record Office

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- EEO 216 Rental rolls 1875
- EEO 224 Rental rolls 1883-4
- EEO 229 Rental rolls 1888-9
- EEO 239 Rental rolls 1898-9
- EEO 689/700 Letter books 1881-97
- EEO 341 Cottage tenancy agreement for quarterly lease
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- EEO 27 1870-97 correspondence [10 documents] includes W.E. Gladstone on creation of
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- EEO 13/265,266 Record of buildings erected since 1869 on Chester and Eaton Estates
- EEO 417/418/419 Agents account books -ledgers
- EEO 52-3 Undated c.1880 2 large volumes containing maps and survey of farms on Eaton
Estate

EEO 81 2nd Edition 6" to 1 mile surveyed 1896-99 map marked to show estate boundaries, glebe lands and other landowners [used to mark boundaries see appendix A]
EEO 44/49 Maps 1866

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3. "Chester Chronicle" edition 30th December 1899 obituary of 1st Duke of Westminster Chester City Record Office CRR 655/26

"Chester Chronicle" edition 9th October 1998

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1892 Kelly's Directory published Kelly & co. [London]

1896 Kelly's Directory [London]

1906 Kelly's Directory [London]

5. Maps

1777 Burdett map Cheshire [Cheshire County Record Office CRO 942/71]

1836 Tithe Award Pulford [University College Chester]

1874 Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 6" to 1 mile

1896 Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 6" to 1 mile

Ordnance Survey Landranger 117 1:50000

6. The Gladstone - Granville Correspondence Volume II [London 1952]

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APPENDIX A

1777 Burdett map of Cheshire

1836 Tithe map of Pulford showing ownership of land

1874 Ordnance Survey 1st Edition 6” to 1 mile extract townships Pulford/ Eccleston

1899 Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition 6” to 1 mile extract townships Pulford/Eccleston

Ordnance Survey Landranger series 117 Chester area used to identify Estate boundaries
shown on EEO 81

APPENDIX B - Abbreviations

BPP - British Parliamentary Papers

CRO - Cheshire Country Record Office

EEO - Eaton Estate Office

APPENDIX C - List Of Tables

Table I - Census statistics for Pulford 1871/81/91

Table II - Census statistics for Poulton 1871/81/91

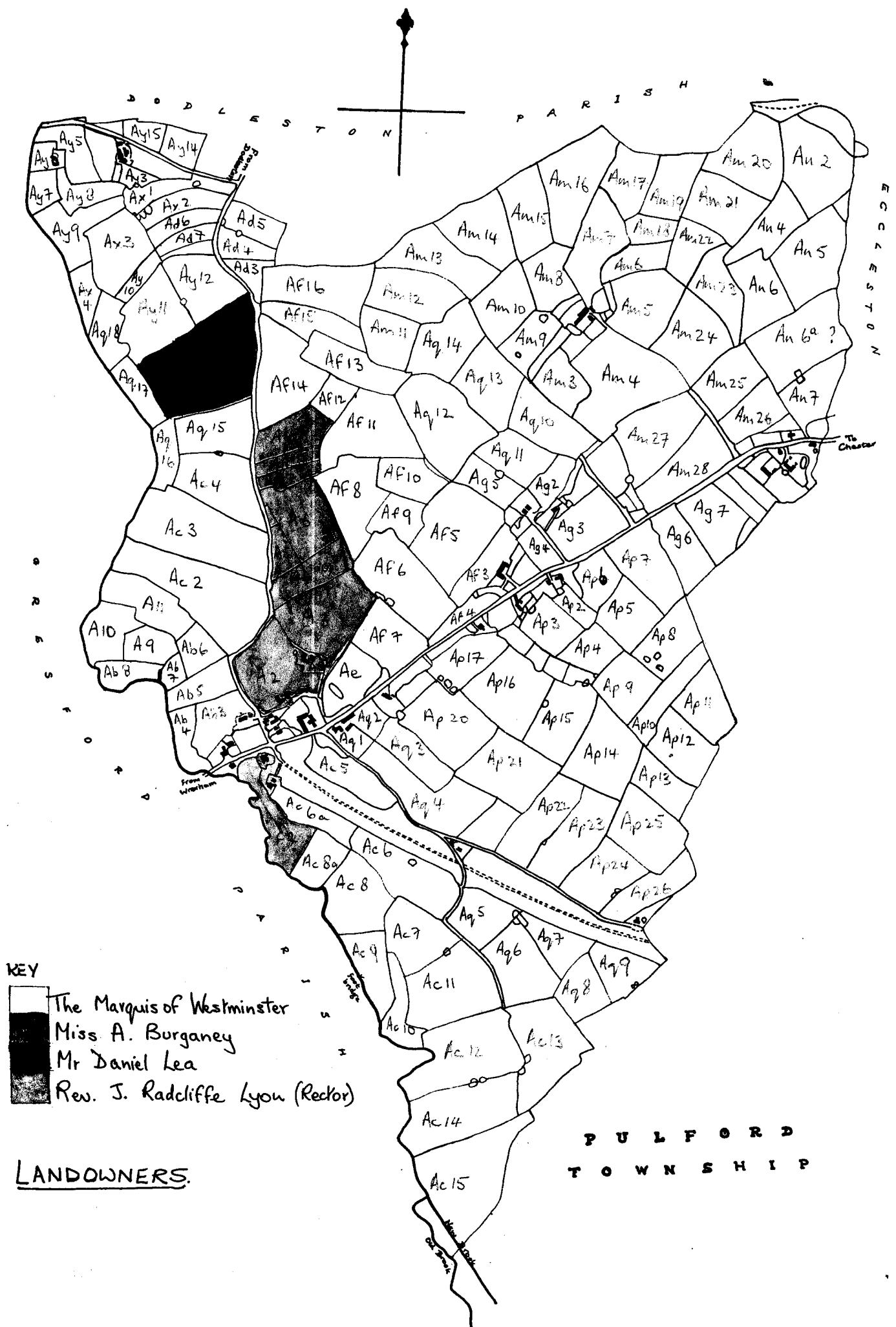
Table III - Census statistics for Eccleston 1871/81/91

Table IV - Census statistics for Eaton 1871/81/91

Table V - Number of Properties and Population comparing the four townships 1871/81/91

Table VI - Number of Houses and Population of County of Chester 1801-91 with graphs

Table VII - Comparison of Tenants for Aldford, Eccleston, Eaton, Pulford, Poulton and
Dodleston from EEO rental rolls for four years.



SECOND EDITION, 1899.

EDDISBURY DIVISION
XLVI. N.W.

CHESTER UNION
2 56

CHESHIRE. SHEET XLVI. S.W.
FLINTSHIRE. PARTS OF SHEETS XIV. XV. XVII. & XXII. A
DENBIGHSHIRE. PARTS OF SHEETS XXII. & XXIII.
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EATON PH.
POULTON PH.

Sheet line
Flint & Denbigh

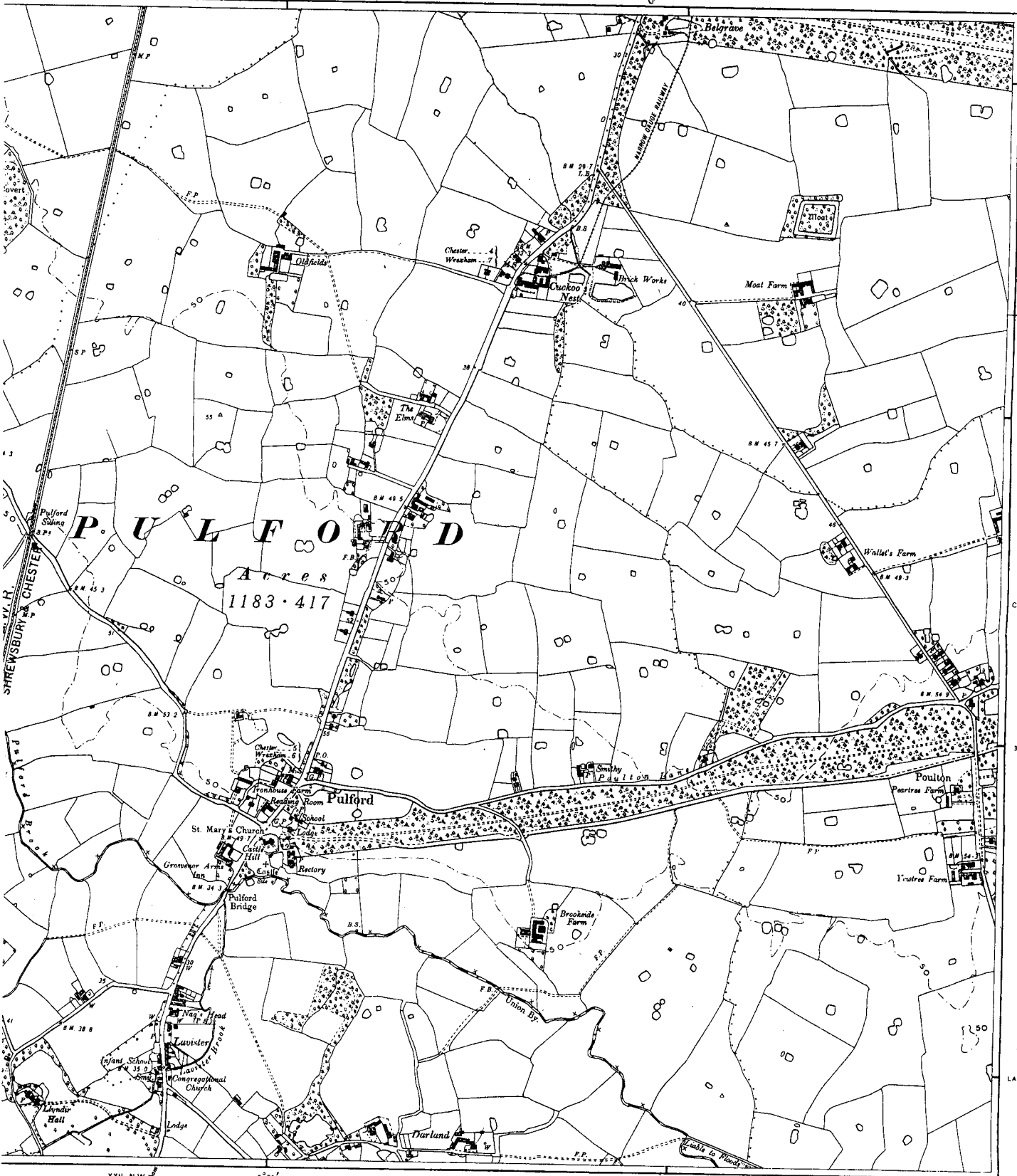
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POULTON PH.

30"

LAT. 53° 7'



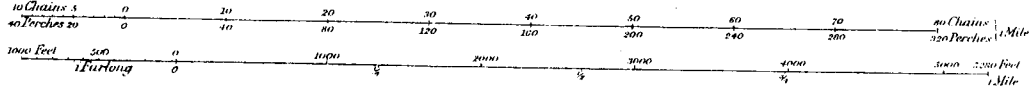
EASTERN DIVISION

ALLINGTON PH.
WREXHAM UNION

Lon. 2° 55' W

CHES. LIII. N.W.

Scale — Six Inches to One Statute Mile or 880 Feet to One Inch. — 1880



Price 1s.

Printed and Published at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton.

N.B. The representation on this map of a Road, Track, or Footpath, is no evidence of the existence of a right of way.

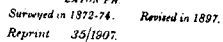
ed Mean Level of the Sea at Liverpool, which is 0.450 of a foot below the general Mean Level of the Sea.

ick Marks on Buildings, Walls, &c. these marked thus (---) preceded or followed by the height to surface levels.

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CHESHIRE. SHEET XLVI.
FLINT. (PART OF)
DENBIGH. (PART OF)
N.W. N.E.
S.E.

CHESTER PH.



County Boundary	-----	Antiquities, Site of
Parliamentary Division Boundary	-----	Arrow, showing direction of flow of water
Union Boundary	X X X X	Contours { Instrumental ----- 100
Rural District Boundary	V V V V	Contours { Sketched 50
Parish Boundary	Trigonometrical Station

Price ls.net.

Heliozincographed from 1880 Plans and Published by the Director General at the Ordnance Survey.
The altitudes are given in Feet above the assumed Mean Level of the Sea at Liverpool, which is 0.450 of a Foot below
Altitudes indicated thus (+ N. 8. 4. 7) refer to Bench Marks on Buildings, Walls, &c. those marked thus (-), preceded by

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